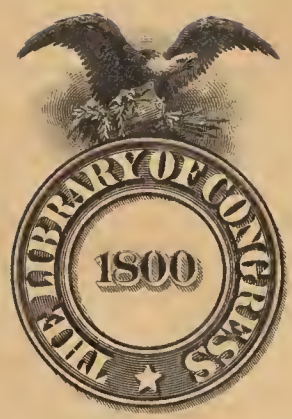
WORLD PATRIOTS

PATRIOTISM CITIZENSHIP AMERICAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

JOHN T. M. JOHNSTON



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WORLD PATRIOTS

WORLD PATRIOTS

BY

JOHN T. M. JOHNSTON

AUTHOR OF
A Man With A Purpose
The Question Of The Hour
Etc.

World Patriots has been translated into Spanish by Dr. Jose Vasconselos, Minister of Education of the Republic of Mexico, and has been published for use as a textbook in high schools and colleges of Anglo America and Latin America.

WORLD PATRIOTS COMPANY
SAINT LOUIS,
U. S. A.

1924

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1924

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1917-1920-1924

Gift from
Robert L. Owen
Nov. 4, 1931

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THE E. W. STEPHENS COMPANY
Columbia, Missouri

Consecrated

TO

The thirty-five million pupils of Pan-America who are studying in the English and Spanish languages the patriotic principles and precepts of George Washington and Simon Bolivar; to these young men and women of the Western Hemisphere to whom we must look for the perpetuation of ideal patriotism, intelligent citizenship and the spiritual advancement of the world.

To My Daughter

MARGARET JOHNSTON PEPPARD

My assistant and collaborator in writing the third edition of WORLD PATRIOTS.

FOREWORD

The man or woman who chooses as a vocation that of a teacher, selects one of the highest of all callings. The teachers of America are the custodians of the morals of all the students of the country. The raising of the standard of American ideals and American efficiency in thinking and in doing rests upon teachers. The teachers of the land occupy strategical places in the moulding of American manhood and womanhood. The future character and destiny of American Republics, especially as related to patriotism and citizenship, is empowered in the teachers of the land. The generation coming is to hold the reins of our government, and what they are to be depends upon their teachers. The teacher of the smallest country school occupies a position of sacred trust, as well as one of potential power. Parents entrust to teachers their most valued and cherished possessions. Therefore the character and personality of the teacher in any community is more important than that of the banker or the merchant.

The four million teachers of the America's north, central and south, should realize that the family, the school, and the church are the real moulders of the destinies of the twenty-one Republics of the new world.

THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTIONS.

By Doctor Walter Williams,

Dean of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri.
President of the Press Congress of the World.

Press Congress of the World
Office of the President
At the School of Journalism
University of Missouri

THIS excellent volume by a distinguished American, Dr. John T. M. Johnston, discussing the principles which are the foundations of patriotism and illustrating these principles by well chosen examples, will have—as it so richly merits—a persuasive appeal everywhere.

Its very title appeals and broadly. Patriotism, desire to serve humanity, aspiration toward leadership, are found among all nations and among all peoples. Greatness is not limited by boundaries of race or nation, ocean or mountain range. Its only limitations are the limitations of humanity. "World Patriots" suggests that each nation may learn from every nation and that the soil from which true patriotism springs is found wherever aspiring man dwells.

Unto those who know—as is my good fortune—Dr. Johnston's dynamic personality, his earnest and successful effort to serve his fellowmen, the name of the author will effectively appeal. Here is a man who lives the life he is writing of, who is leader in finance and statecraft, in educational and civic affairs, who speaks earnestly and illuminatingly of genuine patriotism.

The content of the volume appeals to all who would know the leaders of mankind, and who would not? Scan

the author's list—John Marshall, George Washington, Simón Bolívar, Queen Elizabeth, Joan of Arc, Otto von Bismarck, Camillo Benso Cavour, Peter the Great, Miguel Hidalgo, Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, Theodore Roosevelt. Not only is man "the proper study of mankind," but the most fascinating. Dr Johnston has selected with care and wisdom great characters who are exemplars. From each biography much may be learned; each is an interesting story. He has added a succinct discussion of American civil government and made a volume that is a helpful, constructive contribution unto the practice by all peoples of the fine and difficult art of self-government. He opens the windows upon the lives of yesterday that the lives of tomorrow may be illuminated thereby.

In the purpose of the book is its greatest appeal. Attractive and suggestive title, influential and forceful author, comprehensive and vigorously presented chapters—these make a book worth examination, reading and study. The purpose of "World Patriots" goes further and deeper. It is intended to influence the hearts and minds of men and women—the young in the plastic years of life, those more mature who may yet be stirred to larger things. It seeks to build a foundation, sound and durable, in men's lives so that the structure of civil government and of personal character erected by man thereupon will make the new world a better place in which to live than the old world has ever been.

Such a book with such a high and noble purpose is its own best introduction. That it will realize in ample measure the desire of its distinguished author is my confident belief.

Walter Williams.

Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.
August 4, 1924.

By Champ Clark,

Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

The author of this book, Dr. John T. M. Johnston, is one of the foremost men in Missouri, a scholar of profound learning, a public speaker of great force, a banker and financier of high rank. In addition to all of this, he is a philanthropist as well as an intense patriot. This is not his first plunge into literature. He has already written several excellent books.

In this volume, he has seized upon one of the most important and elevating subjects to which the human mind, whether nascent or mature, can turn its attention. Knowing Dr. Johnston as thoroughly as I do, and admiring him as much as I do, I am certain that this volume will be widely read, and universally used as a textbook in our schools and do a vast amount of good.

The truth is that for years we have been so self-satisfied with the liberties we enjoy, and with our condition generally, that we take everything for granted and think that it was an easy matter to attain the status which we now occupy. Consequently we have paid little attention to patriotism and to good citizenship. All is easy in the retrospect, as all's well that ends well. The average citizen seems inclined to think that the making of the Declaration of Independence, which is the real foundation of our Government, was a sort of holiday performance—which is a great mistake. The men who performed that immortal deed did it with halters about their necks.

When they were signing, old Ben Franklin, the greatest

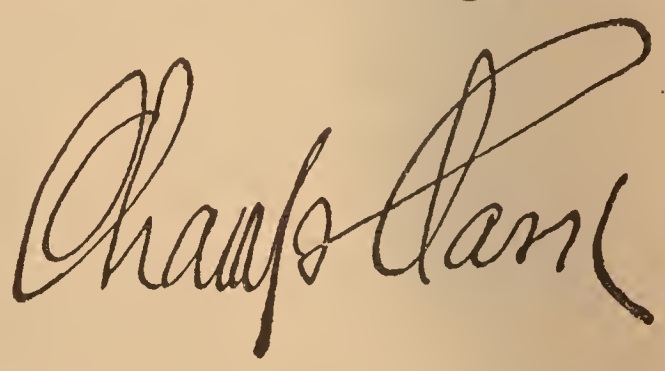
wit of that age, perhaps the greatest wit of all the ages, said: "Now that we have signed, we must all hang together or we will all hang separately," an immortal truth. Big, bluff Ben Harrison, afterwards Governor of Virginia, poked little Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts in the ribs and said: "I will have one advantage over you when the day of hanging comes. My great weight will make me die sooner."

John Hancock, the President of that Congress, signed it in characters so large that he who runs may read, and said: "I guess King George the Third can read that without his glasses."

When Charles Carroll of Carrollton signed it somebody said to him that in the multiplicity of Charles Carrolls he might escape when the day for hanging should come, whereupon he seized his pen and added to his name the words "of Carrollton," so that there would be no question of identity on the great occasion to which they looked forward. This was the spirit in which those men did that great and renowned deed.

My own opinion is that patriotism and good citizenship should be specifically taught in every school in the land. Dr. Johnston has written a book suitable for this purpose, and I have no sort of doubt that the end will be abundantly attained. The cause is as worthy as the man. If he can induce all of the public and private schools in the United States to turn a portion of their time to the study of the subject which he has studied so profoundly, he will be recognized in future ages as a great public benefactor.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 7, 1917.



By Robert L. Owen,

United States Senator from the State of Oklahoma, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

I congratulate the country upon the production of "World Patriots" by my dear friend, Dr. John T. M. Johnston, of Saint Louis. The purpose of this volume is to emphasize upon the mind of the youth of the Western Hemisphere and of the world, those great exemplars of patriotism, whose efforts to serve men have lifted their names like mountain peaks above the common plain. These are the great and noble spirits from whom the youth of the world can draw inspiration in devotion to country in the highest lessons of patriotism.

Never was the time more urgent for teaching these lessons. During the past century have been born the most gigantic intellectual and material forces of all the records of time. They are expanding constantly. These forces should be the servants of human life, of human liberty, of human happiness. Properly directed, they will bring to every human being the highest development and happiness. The doctrine of patriotism, of service to others, is as essential to the wise guidance of these forces as a rudder is to an ocean liner, or a steel track to a mogul engine.

Intellectual power and material power may be used for dangerous and harmful ends when employed to serve coarse selfishness, or cold ambition. They are only serving mankind best when they are directed by altruism and for patriotic purposes.

The lessons of patriotism are contagious. We see tens of thousands of humble men rush to the colors at the call of the country, ready to give their lives as a willing sacrifice in the service of their country and in love for their fellow men.

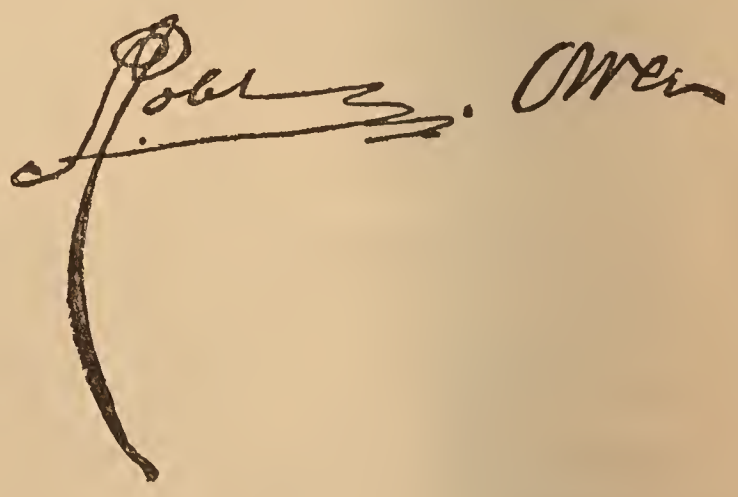
May the contagion of patriotism, which breathes through the pages of "WORLD PATRIOTS," seize the hearts of all the youth of America that they may realize the everlasting truth of the adage:

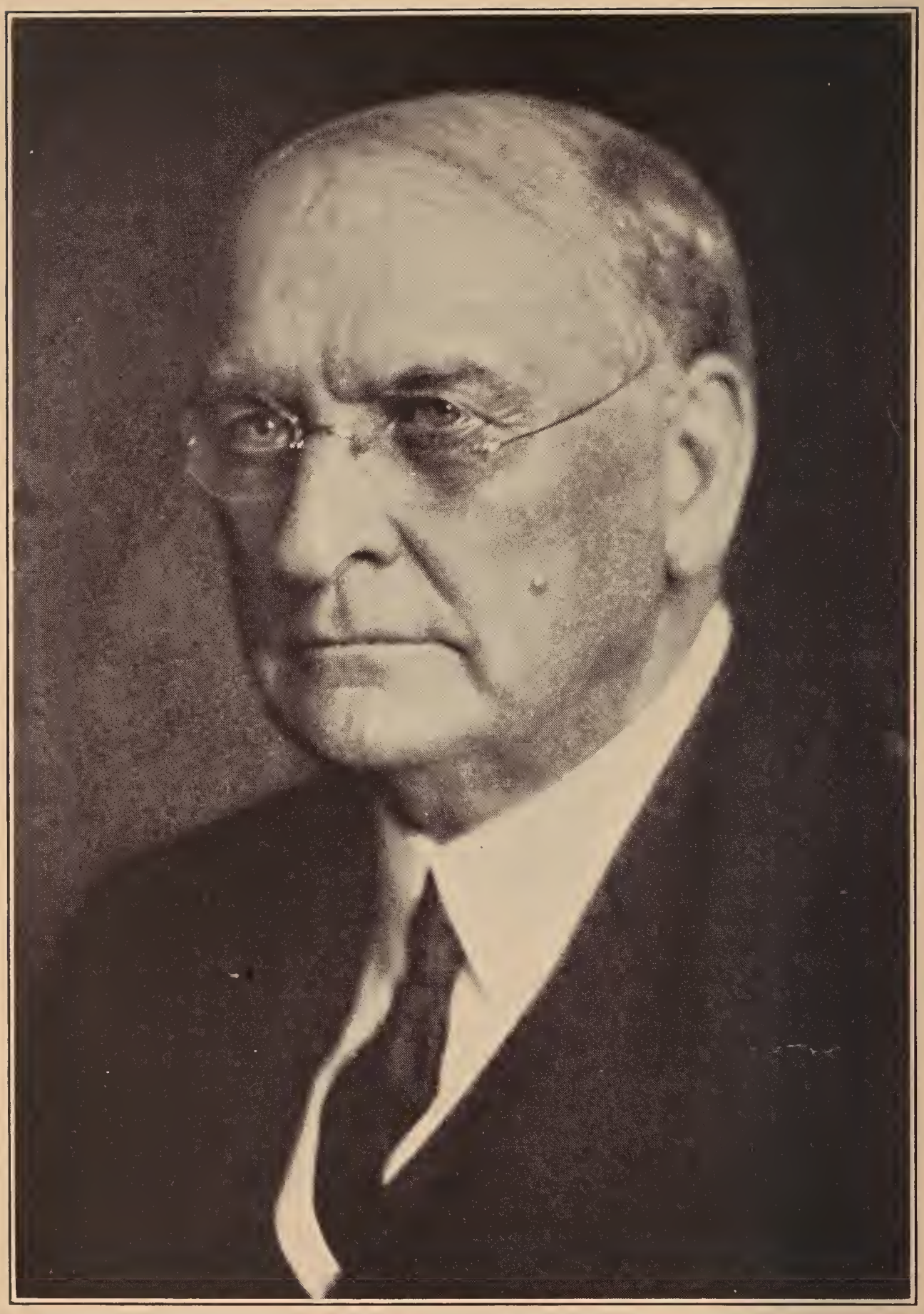
"Be noble, and the nobility that lies in other men sleeping, but never dead, will rise in majesty to meet your own."

It is the fruitful nobility of these patriots which has moved the spirit of Dr. Johnston to render this service to his fellow men. I bid the book God-speed, that its mission may be fruitful, that it may inspire tens of thousands, yes millions, of the noble young men and women of America to emulate the splendid example of service set forth in the lives of "WORLD PATRIOTS," which is laid before them with such high purpose.

I so thoroughly believe this book will be a potent factor in inspiring the young folks of America to lofty patriotism that I am looking forward to have it adopted as a text-book not only in the public schools and colleges of my own State, Oklahoma, but of the entire United States.

WASHINGTON,
August 7, 1917.





Faithfully.

John T. M. Johnston

INTELLIGENT CITIZENSHIP AND IDEAL PATRIOTISM.

The thought and purpose of this volume is to kindle the fires of patriotism in the hearts of the American people and to inculcate sound principles of citizenship.

The deeds of crime that are being daily heralded by newspapers, from the village sheet to the metropolitan journal, reveal that a sub-normal moral condition is pervading the country. Criminologists affirm that there is a marked deterioration of individual and national conscience. Linked with these outbreaks of crime is a contagion of indifference to law and order that is enveloping the country and lowering its moral fiber. In some instances our law-makers are self centered and untrue to their constituents. The United States is passing through an economic, political, social and religious crisis.

In 1782 when America was first officially recognized by foreign countries as an independent nation the combined wealth of the world was one hundred billion dollars; America's wealth was one billion dollars, or 1/100 of the total wealth of the world. During the 142 years that have intervened, the world's assets have increased to one trillion dollars; and America's to four hundred billion dollars which is 2/5 of the world's total wealth. In 6,000 years all the nations of the world have accumulated material possessions amounting to $1,000,000,000,000.00, while in 142 years the United States has accumulated $400,000,000,-000.00. No other nation of the world has approximated such stupendous strides in material possessions as has America. Past history proves that excessive accumulated wealth may become a curse rather than a blessing.

America is the idol of her citizenry. They will rise above the greed of gain. They will subordinate the spirit of sordidness to that of altruism. They will build an enduring, individual and national character.

The future of this nation is contingent upon the spirit of her people, and her paramount work is to implant virile Americanism in her youth and foreign-born population.

Intelligent patriotism, not fanatical enthusiasm, is its goal—a unity of patriotic principle carried out in energetic co-operation.

In the realm of education, especially during the past decade, new and improved methods of instruction have been introduced in the schools. Modern textbooks are being introduced that are in keeping with the intellectual and commercial growth of the nation. In no department has there been so little change and advancement as in the textbooks of history. Those now used are largely records of wars and warriors, consequently the ideas and ideals that are placed before the young are those of the battlefield. Their conception of greatness is to lead an army, and their idea of bravery is to follow the leader to the battlefront.

The truly great men of history—those who have done most for mankind—are not destructionists but constructionists. Alexander of Macedon is being placed before the American youth as a model of greatness. Historians linked a title with his name, and for nearly two thousand years he has been known as Alexander the Great. Was Alexander great? As a warrior, yes; but is that the measure of true greatness? He slew his best friend and advisor in a raging passion because the friend differed with him. Alexander died at the age of thirty in a drunken orgy. His life is typical of many other warriors of history.

Hannibal, Caesar, and Napoleon were great men; but

history magnifies their prowess in war, and gives little emphasis to their statesmanlike virtues. Napoleon's generalship and triumphs in battle are glorified rather than the "Code Napoleon". Caesar was a statesman, but it is not his genius in statecraft that is being magnified, but his strategy as a warrior.

True greatness is not easily defined. Depth of spirit, breadth of intellect, and warmth of heart are integral elements.

Pasteur of France, whose scientific genius lengthened the life of mankind, was a greater benefactor of the race than was Napoleon. Italian history idealizes Garibaldi as a warrior, but says little of Michael Angelo who was not only a statesman but a benefactor to mankind in literature and art.

The heroes of peace have done as much in uplifting mankind as have the heroes of war. The men and women who have achieved distinction in the industrial, economic, and scientific worlds and in the realms of art and literature should receive the same recognition as that accorded warriors. Our nation has honored the heroes of war by placing monuments, memorials and statues throughout the country, but no such appreciation has been shown the leaders who, through constructive ideas and ideals, contributed largely in the upbuilding of the nation.

The victorious termination of the World War was consummated by a concerted and united effort of the whole people. The workers in the shops and fields of the warring nations were as truly a part of the armies as the men in the trenches. These countries were vast camps, in which the entire population was engaged in subsidiary military service.

Equality of opportunity, which democracy guarantees has its counterpart in equality of responsibility. The burdens of government should rest equally upon the shoul-

ders of all. There must pervade our citizenship a public-spiritedness that will submerge all differences and unify the people in loyalty and devotion to the country. The American heart should beat with a steady stroke for America; at the same time be ever responsive to the need of fellow-nations.

The war has shifted the center of gravity of world affairs. It has made the United States a world power, and world issues are her issues. Her isolation is gone. Her inventive genius, by giving to the world the aeroplane, the submarine and the radio, has destroyed the protecting power of the elements and robbed her of two great allies, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The United States is closer to Europe today than was Virginia to Massachusetts at the time of the American Revolution. This situation calls for a new conception of citizenship. In order to perform her enlarged duties intelligently, her people must be internationally informed. They must have an understanding of world-races, world-history, and world-movements; they must comprehend the scope and meaning of foreign policies. An intelligent patriotism is imperative if she is to vindicate the past, maintain the present, and rise to the future destinies foreshadowed by the vigor of her people and the vastness of her resources.

It has long been recognized by educators and leaders of thought that biographical history is a most fascinating and inspiring study. Nothing is so calculated to stir the imagination, and fire the ambition as the contemplation of deeds of great men and women. "The proper study of mankind is man." There is in the heart of everyone an intuitive desire to gain an insight into the methods that motivate hero-life. What man or woman has not longed to live within some idealized hero, to study the riddle of the universe through his eyes, to learn the secrets of his power, and to know the innermost heart of his mystery?

"History is the essence of innumerable biographies." The very soul of history is biography—it is life, not theory. These considerations have led the author to adopt the biographical and psychographical method as being the most effective for his purpose.

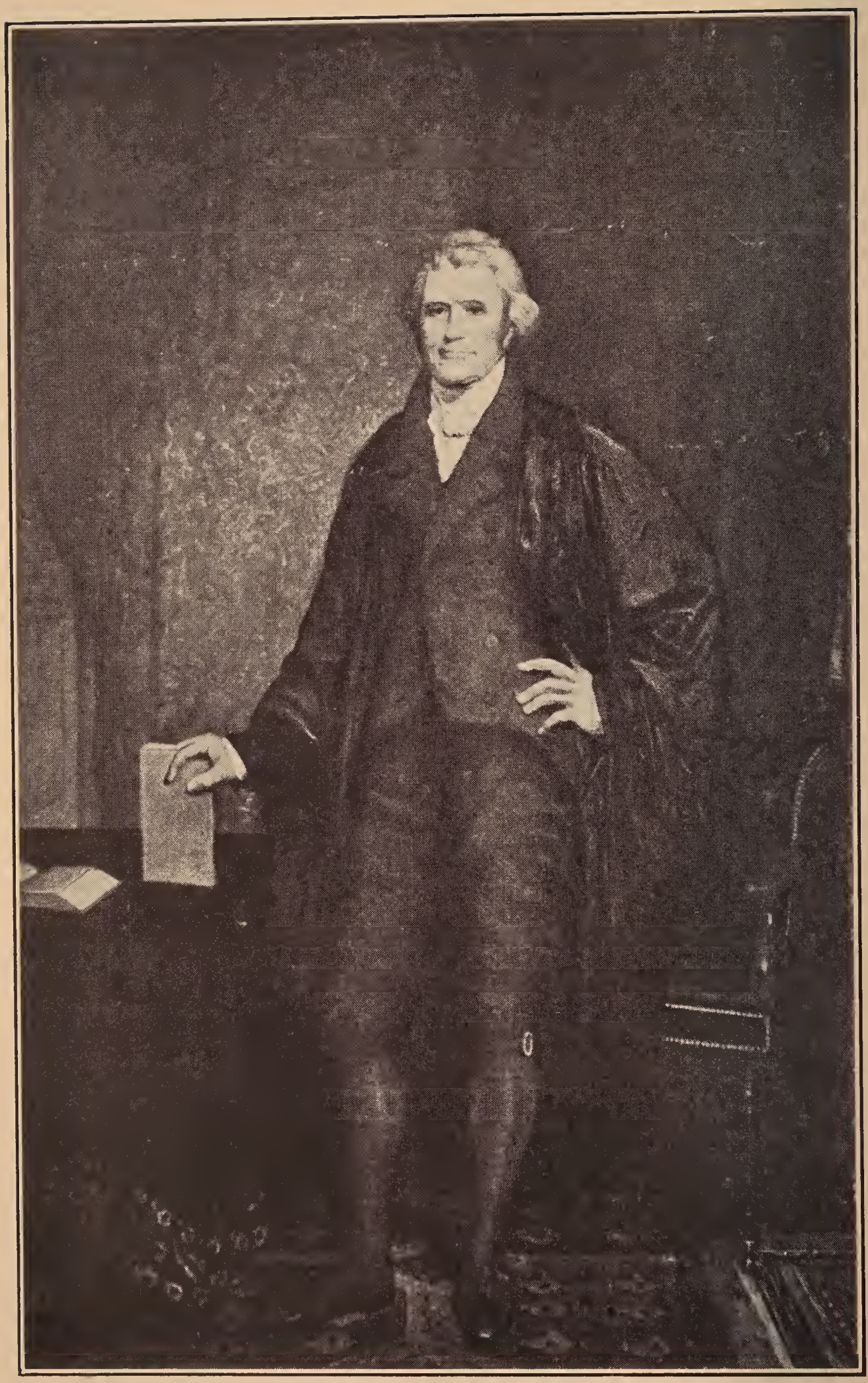
A knowledge of the biography of the achievers of the world would be a liberal education; for true biography not only portrays the career of the individual, but reflects the life of his time and gives an insight into the customs and spirit of the people. Men and movements are as inseparable as the brain and heart. The developing forces of civilization, have had their birth in the minds and hearts of individuals of insistent initiative. By studying the characters and achievements of the world's patriots the vision will be clarified, the patriotic devotion deepened and the life more fully consecrated to the service of the country.

The author has endeavored to recite, in a simple and succinct manner, the achievements of patriots and statesmen of other nations as well as those of America, and to characterize the part they played in molding the spirit of their respective countries.

He has approached this subject with an unbiased and open mind. His central idea has been to portray the highest type of citizenship, keeping ever in mind the fundamentals of civil government. He has exercised a profound respect for his fellow-men, regardless of race, religion or creed.

He does not prescribe rules or fixed laws but believes that his ideas will be actualized through the study of these worthy men and women.

This volume is sent forth with a yearning desire that the precepts and principles exemplified by these characters may become an integral part in the lives of all who read WORLD PATRIOTS.



JOHN MARSHALL
From the portrait by Chester Harding

JOHN MARSHALL

THE MAN WHO PERSONIFIED, INTERPRETED AND MAGNIFIED AMERICAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

1755-1835

IN the mountain range of American citizenship and patriotism, tower seven peaks, symbolic of the seven men whose fearless devotion to their country places their names above their co-workers in establishing America's independence.

John Marshall stands among the foremost patriots of the Revolutionary Period. Although our Revolutionary forefathers were striving to attain America's independence and establish a sound and workable government, history reveals these men had individual places to fill, and in the founding of this Democratic-Republic, some are credited with having accomplished more than others.

Marshall was born in Virginia—the home of soldiers, orators, statesmen and jurists. His father and mother were of the English gentry, descendants of the best blood Old England produced. He was born in 1755 shortly after Braddock's defeat by the French and Indians. Braddock's defeat, and the bravery and strategy that Washington manifested in this battle, brought to the American Colonies the realization that they were more capable of defending themselves than England was of protecting them. This experience sowed the seed of confidence and courage that matured into the Revolutionary War.

When a lad, Marshall's father moved from Fauquier County, Virginia and established a new colony in the valley of the Blue Ridge Mountains. At this time the country

was sparsely settled, the nearest neighbor being 23 miles away. There were no schools in these frontier regions, and young Marshall's early education was confined to the teachings of his father and mother. He was a lover of nature, and many of his idle moments were spent roaming through the forests and along the banks of streams. This had a marked effect upon his mental and spiritual nature as well as his physical development.

During Marshall's seventeenth year a young Scotch clergyman, James Thompson, came to live with the Marshall family. Thus it came about that John Marshall received the first of his three short periods of formal schooling. A year later he was sent to the Military Academy of Reverend Archibald Campbell in Westmoreland County. Although he attended the Academy for only a few months, that brief period was worth much in teaching him methods of thought and study.

At this period Marshall's life was instilled with the spirit and eloquence of Patrick Henry. His father, Thomas Marshall, as Burgess supported Patrick Henry. He repeated to his son Henry's famous speeches as they were delivered before the House of Burgesses in Virginia. Young Marshall memorized many of these speeches. This had a marked influence on his later life. Thus his early life was being moulded, and at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, although only nineteen, he was ready to take the field against the British.

He was a soldier of renown in the American Revolution. From early childhood his father taught him the manual of arms. When trouble between the Colonies and Great Britain became apparent, John Marshall was prepared to take up arms in defense of independence. During the ensuing four years he learned in a hard and bitter school the danger of provincialism and the value of nationalism. He volunteered to raise a company; so when

the contention between the Colonies and England became acute, he raised a company of young men and trained them. After drilling his company all day, he climbed upon a stump and delivered a stirring speech denouncing the British and magnifying the glories of liberty. This speech reflected Patrick Henry's influence on his life. The company Marshall trained was an integral part of the military organization known as "The Minute Men of Virginia". After winning the battles of Great Bridge and Norfolk, the Minute Men were disbanded. Instead of remaining at home as a number of the minute men did, young Marshall and his father joined the army of Washington. Owing to the military training Marshall had received, he soon became lieutenant-captain and later was advanced to the rank of captain.

In the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, he was cool and courageous. He was greatly admired by the men under his command. During the terrible winter at Valley Forge, he was ever cheerfully administering to the needs of his men.

After the battles of Stony Point and Powles Ridge the term of enlistment of Marshall's company expired. A number of the men in this regiment would not re-enlist. This created an excess of officers and Marshall was left without a command. He was sent home to await developments and was finally retired from the service, February 12, 1781. As a soldier he learned many valuable lessons. Marshall's constructive opinions were not made, they grew. They were not "the exclusive result of reasoning, they were the fruit of an intense and vivid human experience working upon a mind and character naturally cautious, constructive and inclined to order and authority."

At the age of twenty-five, Marshall entered William and Mary College for the purpose of studying law. He attended the lectures of George Wythe, but owing to his

finances was compelled to leave school at the end of six weeks.

A few months after leaving college, equipped with the notes taken on Mr. Wythe's lectures, he started the practice of law in Richmond, Virginia. His first few years were filled with hardships, but he lost no opportunity to improve his mind. His clear and logical reasoning soon brought him recognition.

In 1782 he was elected to the legislature of Virginia, and gained such distinction for his work that he was later chosen a delegate to the Virginia Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. He owed his election as a delegate to the convention to his individual strength and popularity with the people. He was openly for the proposed national government, and much credit is due him for its adoption.

The Virginia contest was the only real debate upon the question of ratifying the Constitution. The majority of the people of Virginia were bitterly opposed to the proposed government. The establishing of the Constitution largely depended on the outcome of the Virginia Convention, for at this time Virginia was the most thickly populated and had greater wealth than any other state of the Union. The other states had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, but in Virginia "the array of ability, distinction and character on both sides was notable, brilliant and impressive. The strongest debaters in the land were there. The most gifted orators and some of the most scholarly statesmen. Seldom in any land or age has so gifted and accomplished a group of men contended in argument at one time or place."

At the time the convention was called neither side could tell what the outcome would be. They immediately took up the debate clause by clause. The adoption of the Constitution was upheld by such able men as Madison, Pendle-

ton, Lee and Marshall; while the enemies of the Constitution were as ably represented by Mason, Benjamin Harrison, William Grayson and the Cicero of the Revolutionary period, Patrick Henry. Marshall was not called upon to give any of the constructive arguments in behalf of the Constitution. He was recognized as having the clearest analytical mind of any of the delegates. He listened with intense interest to the speeches of the opposition, analyzing every argument. He was especially concerned with the arguments of Patrick Henry, and delighted in showing the fallacies of some of Henry's arguments. His speeches were not eloquent, but strong, logical and convincing, and had a marked influence on a number of the delegates. Because of his geniality and integrity he was the best liked man in the convention. Though he lacked the college education of his compeers, he made his presence felt, and even his bitterest opponents respected and admired him.

During the convention Marshall entered the debate a number of times, always closing the argument on each clause. His argument on the judiciary clause was especially potent. After an intense debate lasting three weeks, the Constitution was ratified by a vote of 89 to 79.

After the adoption of the Constitution a feeling arose against many of its provisions. Every means was taken to overthrow the new national government. In the face of bitterest opposition Marshall championed the cause of the Constitutionalists.

During the ensuing years amendments were made to the Constitution. Two political parties were established. The feeling between these parties was intense, each party severely criticizing the policies of the other. As a result Washington retired from office amid storms of popular hatred.

Washington had appointed James Monroe Minister to

France. Relations between France and the United States were anything but friendly. The French Government demanded the United States to pay her war debt, and the John Jay Treaty with Great Britain was openly denounced. France resented the Jay Compact and accused the American Government of violating her treaty with France, denounced her for ingratitude and abused her for undue friendship with Great Britain. In all this the French Directory was backed by the Democratic-Republican Party (the Jeffersonian Party) in the United States, which had become a distinctly French party.

The French encouraged a piratical warfare upon American commerce. In less than one year and a half more than 340 American vessels had been taken by French pirates, and over $50,000,000 worth of American property had been confiscated under the decree of the French Directory.

Ambassador Monroe had done nothing to relieve this situation, and in reality was sympathetic with the actions of the French. Due to these facts, Washington recalled him and appointed Charles Pinckney as his successor. As soon as word reached Monroe, he began to make insinuations against Pinckney that branded him as an aristocrat. When Pinckney arrived in France the Directory was extremely discourteous. They refused to recognize him as America's representative, threatened him with arrest, and ordered him out of the French Republic. The news of these outrages against the government reached America shortly after John Adams was inaugurated President. Adams at once endeavored to adjust these differences. John Marshall, a member of the Federalist Party, and Elbridge Gerry, a member of the Democratic-Republican Party, were chosen to assist Pinckney in carrying out the negotiations with France. They arrived in France at the time Napoleon had gained fame as a general. The

French Republic had fallen into the hands of a corrupt political ring, and the government was in a deplorable condition. The countries of Europe were paying large sums of money to purchase peace. If a country failed to meet the demands of the French, Napoleon with his invincible army would declare war against the offending nation. Holland with a population of less than 2,000,000 was compelled to pay $60,000,000. The French Directory was draining the treasury of all Europe, and using the money for their personal gain.

Upon their arrival in Paris, the envoy, composed of Marshall, Pinckney and Gerry, was treated with indifference. The Minister of France, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, refused to meet them. After a few days Talleyrand, consented to give the ambassadors an audience, but refused to discuss the problems in hand. He immediately began dictating the terms upon which the French Directory would listen to the proposals of America. His first demand was that the ambassadors should pay to the Directory $250,000 before they would be permitted a hearing. His next demand was that the United States should lend France a large sum of money to aid her in carrying on war. Marshall indignantly opposed Talleyrand's proposal, and insisted upon formally presenting America's position before the French Directory.

From the first it was evident that Gerry was in sympathy with France. Many times during the negotiations he held secret conferences with Talleyrand and his agents, always refusing to disclose the nature of the meetings. He had been instructed by Jefferson and was merely carrying out his instructions to the best of his ability. During the next few weeks the envoy was visited often by the agents of Talleyrand—always demanding the money for the bribe as well as the loan. These agents assured Marshall that nothing could be accomplished unless the money

was forthcoming. They went so far as to threaten the ambassadors with personal violence, and often referred to the military power of France and the achievements of her armies in dictating peace terms to the nations of Europe. Many times they reminded the envoys of the political influence France already had within the borders of the United States through the Democratic-Republican Party. Talleyrand's agents hinted at the possibility of war between their country and the United States if the terms of the Directory were not met. France would not assure the envoys that American commerce and citizens would be protected even if the demands were met. After weeks of waiting for a hearing, Marshall decided to write a letter to Talleyrand, stating America's position. After two weeks of careful thought the letter was completed and delivered to Talleyrand. In this letter Marshall made it clear that if the envoys met the demands of France the United States could not maintain her neutrality, and that it meant the signing away of America's liberty and independence. Talleyrand ignored this letter, but after repeated demands answered it six weeks later. His reply not only criticized the American government, but was an insult to every true American, and especially to Marshall and Pinckney. It was evident that Talleyrand desired the return of Marshall and Pinckney to the United States, and wished Gerry to remain to complete the negotiations. Marshall's reply to Talleyrand's proposal was that no one member of the envoy could remain on a business committed to all three.

After months of unsatisfactory negotiations Marshall and Pinckney returned to the United States, leaving Gerry in the hands of Talleyrand.

A few weeks prior to Marshall's return to the United States the actions of the French government were published in the papers of America. This aroused feelings of

indignation against the French government. Many French sympathizers upheld the firm stand taken by Marshall in the controversy. Upon his arrival in the United States Marshall was given an ovation that placed him among the heroes of his country. At a banquet given in Philadelphia in his honor, one of the guests uttered the sentiment of the nation when he said: "Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute."

Immediately after his return from France Marshall re-opened his law office. He made the statement that he would never enter politics again, but a few months later was prevailed upon to become a candidate for Congress. After a heated campaign, he was elected by a majority of 108 votes.

Congress furnished the arena where Marshall's statesmanship was emphasized. His political sagacity and courageous devotion to his country was revealed in every speech, and his influence was felt in the shaping of national policies. While he was still in Congress President Adams appointed him Secretary of State. In that capacity he handled international affairs with diplomacy, ever demanding that the rights of the United States should be protected.

At this time the government was in a state of turmoil. A number of Cabinet members had resigned and it was difficult to find suitable men who would fight to maintain the principles of American independence and liberty, as set forth in the Constitution.

Marshall had already gained recognition for his judicial ability, and upon the resignation of Ellsworth was appointed Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Ellsworth was the first Chief Justice, but remained in office only one year. As a jurist Chief Justice Marshall set a precedent in the history of the American bar. In the establishment of a permanent and enduring government

new issues were constantly arising. Instead of questions pertaining to the affairs of kingdoms, autocracies and monarchies, Marshall had to meet and solve new problems pertaining to a republic. The judiciary problems of the old world had been settled by the ablest jurists; but America's questions were new problems that no nation had faced, and John Marshall proved himself an able pioneer in this field.

In deciding the weighty matters of state that confronted this infant republic Marshall showed himself a master in the interpretation of the Constitution. It required the courage of a Napoleon to render, without partisanship, some of the decisions he was called upon to make. He realized whatever his decisions might be, they were certain to be disapproved by one or the other of the two contending political parties, at that time in the process of formation. The two parties were led by his close friends, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Had John Marshall lacked in legal lore or integrity he would certainly have rendered decisions that would have resulted in the downfall of this country. Many of Marshall's first and most important interpretations of the Constitution were considered by the party of Jefferson as being partial to the party of Hamilton.

Today this nation owes a debt of gratitude to John Marshall second only to the appreciation of the "father of his country". On Marshall's shoulders rested the final decisions of the laws of this new republic. For over a third of a century he faithfully and with great dignity and wisdom filled this office, which American lawyers consider the highest in the land. He solved the many problems and vexing issues that confronted the political, social and financial destiny of the nation during its formative and most critical period.

Judge Story, one of the ablest of American jurists,

says of Marshall's decision on Constitutional law: "If all other of the Chief Justices' arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name."

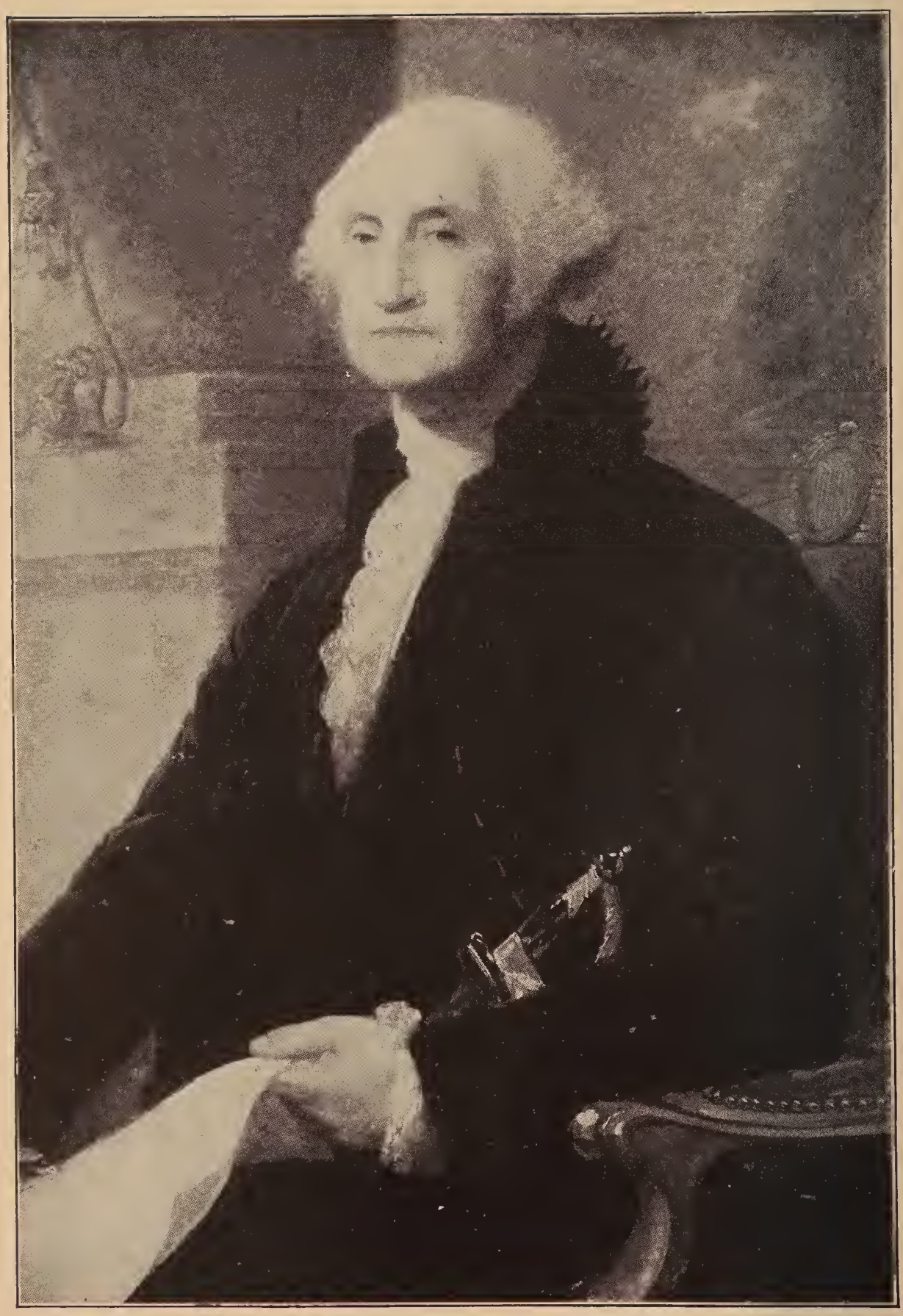
The decision that Marshall handed down from the final Court of Appeals on a single case would have made him immortal. This famous case was argued by Marshall in Congress on March 4, 1800, in defending President Adams for the surrender of a sailor named Thomas Nash. He was claimed by the British as a fugitive from justice. He had committed a murder on board a British frigate, navigating the high seas under a commission from his Brittanic Majesty, and had sought protection within the United States. The guilty man's delivery was demanded by the ambassador of Great Britain. Marshall's speech on this occasion settled for all time whether such cases should be decided by the executive or by the judiciary department of the Federal Government. Griswold says in his "Prose Writers of America", that John Marshall's argument on that occasion deserves to be ranked among the "dignified displays of human intellect". This argument was but the beginning of this great man's judicial study, and decisions, for which he afterwards became famous. Every mind aspiring for legal lore should study this famous case, which for strength and balance is a masterpiece. The decision rendered in this case settled for all time one of the most delicate questions of international relations in the history of jurisprudence.

Another noted case was the Dartmouth College Case which settled for all time the question of contracts. The opinion given in this case was one of the most influential decisions ever rendered by any court, and had marked influence on the development of the United States. At this time there was a tendency among several of the states to violate constitutional rights by legislating against individ-

uals and corporations. The decision rendered by Marshall in the Dartmouth College case excluded state interference with individual contracts and defined the rights of corporations.

During the thirty-four years Marshall served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court many weighty problems were brought to his attention and in every case his decisions were honest, open-minded and fair. He considered the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States the most important documents ever written.

Although Marshall was very feeble and in ill health during the last years of his service, his mind remained clear and his speeches were characteristically forceful even to the very last. At his death on July 6, 1835, the tribute paid by a grateful nation to his memory was second only to that paid Washington. The "Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser" expressed the feeling of the people in these words: "No man has lived or died in this country save its father, George Washington, who united such a warmth and affection for his person with so deep and unaffected respect for his character, and admiration for his great ability. No man ever bore public honors with so meek a dignity. It is hard to conceive of a more perfect character than his, for who can point to a vice, scarcely to a defect—or who can name a virtue that did not shine conspicuously in his life and conduct."



GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE FATHER OF REPUBLICS

1732-1799

GEORGE WASHINGTON stands unique and apart, in monumental solitude, one of the greatest world patriots. No statesman or warrior challenges his pre-eminent place in the annals of history. Bismarck, Cavour, Bolívar, Hidalgo, Peter the Great and Lincoln are high examples of citizenship and patriotism, but the crowning statesman, warrior, executive and world patriot is Washington.

George Washington is rightly called the "Father of his Country," but broadly speaking, he is "The Father of Modern Republics," for he wrought out the model which inspired the formation of all the republics of the world save Switzerland.

Simón Bolívar, in 1806, visited the United States and returned home so saturated with the spirit of Washington that he instigated the construction of five republics, thus winning for himself the name of "Liberator of South America." When San Martín of Argentine read the life of Washington and the Constitution of the United States, he was inspired to a valorous effort that finally established three more South American republics. Lafayette, fired by the spirit of the revolting colonists, came to America to offer his brilliant military gifts to Washington and his cause. He returned to France so imbued with Washington's spirit of freedom and independence that he gave his influence to the movement of reform which ultimately resulted in the present French republic.

Lafayette sent the key of the fallen Bastile as a gift to Washington and the French people erected a splendid statue of Washington on the principal boulevard of Paris.

The belief in man's right to a voice in his government, and the justice of representative citizenship sank deep into the minds of the men of many nations at this period, even England adopted the liberal standards of Washington's platform, and today, though in name a kingdom, is more broadly democratic than is the republic Washington founded. King George of England has less power than the President of the United States. The spirit of democracy is still growing; it has recently deposed a most autocratic ruler and laid the foundation of an independent Russia. One of the issues of the recent war was liberty. Democracy was arraigned against autocracy, and when democracy prevails the world should bow in profound reverence to George Washington the father of governmental freedom.

Washington was born February twenty-second, 1732, at Bridges Creek, Virginia. His father was of aristocratic blood, and his mother a gentlewoman of grace and wisdom. He lived the life of the colonial families of his day, who were loyal to England, their mother country.

When George was eleven years old his father, Augustine Washington, died, leaving his second wife, Mary, who was George's mother, with four young children and two grown stepsons. Mary Washington was endowed with a strong will and ruled her household with a firm motherly hand. She trained her sons to be truthful, sincere and honest.

George spent the first twelve years of his boyhood, during which he chopped the proverbial cherry tree and rode the famous colt, as a boy's boy. He possessed the normal boy's love of fun and mischief, was healthy and athletic, and excelled in out-of-door sports. He was fas-

cinated by the muscular powers of the Indians and aspired to rival their feats of strength. This sympathetic understanding of the Indians perhaps saved his life later when dealing with them as a soldier.

At one time he felt the call of the sea and vainly pleaded with his mother to be allowed to be a sailor. His half-brother Lawrence realized his intense disappointment and invited him to his home at Mount Vernon where he completed his education and grew into young manhood. Lawrence Washington had been educated in England and had married into the cultured family of Lord Fairfax, an accomplished Englishman, who had experienced life's disappointments without becoming embittered by them. He had come to spend his later days enjoying the freedom of his vast inheritance in Virginia. From Lord Fairfax Washington learned that knowledge of man and manners which no school can give, that poise and dignity of bearing which were so valuable throughout his life.

Washington's youth was not fraught with the hardships and trials of poverty which often make stepping-stones to an achieving career; however, in early boyhood he possessed the traits of leadership, which neither prosperity nor reverses could turn aside. He grew from a manly boy into a manly man. His innate passion for leadership welled up to the surface, and even his amusements took on a military aspect. Irving said: "He made soldiers of his schoolmates. They had their mimic parades, reviews and sham fights." George was commander-in-chief of the school.

Maturing early he made his first step in business at sixteen. He was surveyor by choice and training—a profession which in that day required a knowledge of woodcraft as well as mathematics. Lord Fairfax entrusted to him the task of defining the boundaries of the Fairfax estate beyond the ridge of the Alleghanies. The elderly English

aristocrat and the young Virginia gentleman were much together and became devoted friends.

Washington was large in body, tall, muscular, strong, long of arm and big of wrist. His dominant will showed in the decisive cut of his jaw; the light of purpose shone through his gray blue eyes, giving evidence of a strong nature.

For three years he toiled as a surveyor, living a rough pioneer life, strengthening his muscles, hardening himself to exposure and fatigue, accustoming himself to risks and perils, engraving on his character self-confidence and self-reliance.

A short time before Lawrence Washington's death he gave George his place in the Virginia militia, and soon he was commissioned a major and adjutant-general. The governor selected him to make the dangerous mid-winter journey through the forests to the French fort to warn the French that they were trespassing on English soil. The expedition was full of peril and hardships. Accompanied by only seven men, he made his way to the Ohio River through seven hundred and fifty miles of almost unbroken wilderness. There he delivered his message and set out in the dead of night to retrace his dreary route. His footsteps were dogged by Hophill Indians, whom the French had enlisted to fight for them, but he dealt with them with remarkable cleverness by exciting their personal admiration for his physical strength. On one occasion he entered a village in full Indian regalia, minus only the war paint, and so excited the warriors in feats of strength and prowess that they named him "Conotancarious," "plunderer of villages," and suggested that he take to wife an Indian maiden and remain with them as chief.

But that perilous mission to the French was in vain. They refused to heed the warning, and continued to encroach upon English territory. War between England

and France ensued. England sent her troops, in command of General Braddock, expecting to make short work of her foes. Braddock, however, unskilled in pioneer and forest warfare, and unheedful of the advice of Washington, whom he had made a member of his staff, made an open siege upon Fort Duquesne. He was attacked from behind by an unseen enemy and seriously wounded. Washington was left to conduct the retreat. This he did with such skill that he was recognized by his superior officers as a singularly resourceful soldier. On his return to Virginia he became the chief stay of his province in guarding her frontiers against the savages.

At this time he was not only a daring young soldier but was conspicuous in social life. He loved society and entered into it with characteristic whole-heartedness. Brilliant, courteous, gallant, he was welcomed into the gayest circles of Virginia. Impulsive by nature, he was susceptible to feminine charms. His succession of youthful romantic affairs merited the oft cited tale of his impetuous proposal upon first meeting Miss Philipse, the most sought-after heiress in America, and her equally prompt refusal.

Not long afterwards, while riding from Mount Vernon to Williamstown with dispatches, he was invited to dine with a friend. There he met Mrs. Martha Custis, a wealthy young widow. He lingered, entranced, while his faithful black servant, "Billy," paced his impatient horse back and forth before the window. Mrs. Custis was pretty and self-possessed and had that acquired sweetness which often comes to a woman who has become a mother and a widow before care and age have checked the first full tide of her life. At sundown he departed, only to return on his way to the frontier to make an impetuous offer of marriage. This romantic and audacious courtship of but a single day resulted in their betrothal, and five months later he married and settled down to the placid life of a Virginia planter.

Through this marriage Washington's estate was considerably augmented, for Mrs. Washington's portion of the Custis property was 15,000 acres of land, over two hundred negroes and ten thousand pounds; this heritage, added to Washington's fortune, distinguished him as the richest man in America. His wealth was estimated at $800,000.

Mount Vernon, the home he inherited from his brother Lawrence, was his chief source of enjoyment. He developed and enlarged it into a successful plantation. Watchful, systematic, energetic, with an insatiable relish for being out-of-doors, he personally supervised the estate. It was a perfectly conducted farm, typical of the man. Agriculture, however, was only one of the pursuits on the Washington estate, which was a distinct and self-supporting community with some three hundred people, mostly slaves, busily engaged in various kinds of labor. The plantation had its own blacksmiths, brickmakers, shoemakers, carpenters, masons, gardeners, staff of mill operators, coopers, weavers and plowmen. They supplied not only the plantation with ample food and products, but also the village stores for miles around.

Washington was a kind firm master. His slaves enjoyed many privileges, which were rarely transgressed. He was especially devoted to his body servant "Billy," who assisted him in his surveyings and who was his constant bodyguard and companion during the war. Though an extensive slave holder, he was ready to promote any feasible plan that promised its abolishment. To a Pennsylvanian he expressed the sentiment:

"I hope it will not be conceived from these observations that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it;

but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

Mount Vernon was a center of unbounded hospitality. It became a "well-resorted tavern." Washington often said that his greatest pleasure was companionship with intimate friends. A day spent at Mount Vernon without company was unusual. In his diary we often find Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe, Lafayette, Marshall, Jay, Robert Morris and other leading men of that period dining with him and even spending days and weeks at the historic mansion on the Potomac.

Washington became a member of the House of Burgesses, from Frederick County, which held annual sessions at Williamsburg. At first he was awkward upon the floor, but each year gained more ease and eloquence. His life gradually broadened about him, and with maturity came experience and understanding.

From the beginning of the English colonial quarrels he took an active part in asserting the rights of the Colonies and informing the Committee of Correspondence, which had for its object the "maintaining of the liberty which they had derived from their ancestors." He was not a political agitator, such as Samuel Adams, who planned with unerring intelligence to bring about independence. On the contrary, Washington longed and hoped for conciliation; but with remarkable foresight, he early realized that war was inevitable. He was preparing himself quietly and resignedly for the struggle while other statesmen, more brilliant, were waiting for the dawn of understanding. The military uniform in which he appeared at the first Continental Congress of Philadelphia, to which he was a delegate, gave visible manifestation of his conviction and the extent to which the fire of his patriotism had led him.

Patrick Henry said on June fifteenth, 1775: "If you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor." When Congress, weary of fruitless protest against England's tyranny, weary of waiting for even faint promises of reconciliation, decided that revolt was necessary, all minds seemed to turn to Washington. John Adams perceived in him the right man to entrust with the leaderships of the Continental Army and nominated him for Commander-in-Chief. The members of the famous body who voted unanimously for him were the ablest men of the country—Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson—but none of them realized so fully as Washington the gravity of the situation. Instead of a united nation the colonies were thirteen detached units, weak, distrustful, jealous, with little in common save their hatred for England. Many individuals were still loyal to the mother-country and revered her crown. They had no taste for a rebellion that would take their lives and lay waste their lands. The leader of such an army had first to harmonize the allies before he could defeat the enemy. This Washington set about to do. His purpose was to create a vigorous public sentiment which would make the Continental Congress dominant. He turned the minds of his generals to Congress and invited the assemblies of the several colonies to recognize the same central power. He saw and felt the need of a national spirit, and his highest achievement was in bringing the people to the idea of nationality. This phase of his work has not been sufficiently recognized. In fact all his military success would have come to naught had it not been for his gift of nationalizing his country. His central purpose throughout his public career was to bring all the colonies into a self-sustaining, efficient government, not dependent upon any man for its perpetuity, but upon the patriotism and loyalty of all men.

He accepted his commission with a mixture of modesty and pride that evoked high admiration. He wrote his wife, "You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you in the most solemn manner that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking is designed to answer some good purpose."

Two days later he started across country to take command of the army at Cambridge. "That noble figure drew all eyes to it, that mien as if the man were a prince; that sincere and open countenance which every man could see was lighted by a good conscience; that cordial ease in salute, as if a man who felt himself brother to his friends." It was a man in the prime of life fitted to inspire courage in the people and to make their hearts grow strong, who rode through the colonies to take charge of their insurgent army. Mankind is ever impressed by externals, but beneath the stately form, the courageous countenance, the military bearing, those humble countrymen saw in the Virginia gentleman an honesty and sincerity of purpose that stirred their hearts to patriotism and their hands to battle.

The gigantic task committed to Washington was appalling. He was to oppose the mightiest empire in the world. A nation with a naval and military power unparalleled. A kingdom with a record of hundreds of years of triumph and conquest. The magnitude of the herculean task is more apparent when we realize that the colonies were not yet an organized nation and the entire population was only three million eight hundred thousand, and eight hundred thousand of these were slaves and a great number of these citizens were in sympathy with England.

As Commander-in-Chief Washington's first task was to drive the British from Boston; to do this he was given a force of 14,000 country lads, brave and enthusiastic, but utterly devoid of discipline, and unequipped with uniforms or arms. There were no resources to draw upon for necessary provisions. The provinces were totally ignorant of the details of war and of the principles of organization. Gradually Washington taught them to provide for their needs. Little by little he trained new privateers, and organized companies, disciplined and ranked the officers, who were as ignorant of military tactics as the troops themselves. Although overwhelmed with the cares immediately surrounding him, he was not unmindful of the country at large. He planned campaigns, distant and near, and supervised a multitude of preliminary details that demanded prompt and vigorous execution. By gripping every task and pushing it to its finish he supplied one deficiency after another until the time for the siege of Boston was imminent.

A body of British troops, as well trained and equipped as Europe could produce, occupied Boston. General Howe was in command, and the British fleet held the harbor. Secure in the knowledge of their superior forces, they placidly awaited extra guns from England. On the evening of March fourth, 1776, they saw the sun sink calmly over the hills of Dorchester and were amused by the noise of occasional cannonading from the three divisions of Washington's little army stationed at Roxbury, Summerville and East Cambridge. But while these fireworks amused the enemy, Washington was busy moving wagons, timber, tools, ox-carts, bales of hay, provisions and men up the hills. The rising sun revealed such a display of ramparts and cannons on Dorchester Heights that the enemy quickly embarked 8,000 troops and 1,000 citizens of Boston and set sail for Halifax. They left behind them

200 cannons and much military store. Washington established himself in General Howe's headquarters, having won a brilliant victory without loss of life or property

But Washington did not waste his time in luxurious ease. When he saw the British fleet disappear from Boston Harbor, he waved a good-bye, saying: "We shall see you again," for he knew full well that the defeat had but intensified the struggle and that England would double her reinforcements in the spring.

New York, open to the sea and without protection of fort or fleet, would naturally be the point of attack, so Washington set out to control the Hudson, which would probably be the command of the continent.

Throughout the years that followed his triumphs were mingled with opposition, censure and defeat, but with his patriotism and courage ever at white heat he met success and defeat with equal dignity and reserve. The Declaration of Independence on the following July fourth, and the defeat at New York, August twenty-seventh, were exigencies that equally stiffened his temper and added daring to his spirit. The taunts of enemies, the indifference and the rebukes of Congress, the desertions of his men, the offers of reconciliation and privileges by England served only as stimulants that nerved him to the master-move made on the memorable Christmas night, when, through pitch darkness and grinding ice, he crossed the Delaware and walked nine miles through blinding snow to Trenton. "They marked their journey by the blood of their naked feet." As he neared the town, held by Hessians, word came to him that his guns were wet. "Use the bayonet," said he, "the town must be taken." He captured 2,000 Hessians and lost but three men.

Although Washington's courage seldom waned, his countrymen were often discouraged, not because their

ideals sank, but because Congress had failed to provide bread for the patriotic soldiers who were fighting and starving for the cause of liberty and independence. Loyalists and Tories and timid men, who believed success impossible, plotted against Washington. He met the conspiracy—the so-called Conway Cabal—with his wonderful self-control, effaced it quietly and calmly and spoke not a word of reproach. "The ultimate secret of greatness is neither physical nor intellectual, but moral. It is the capacity to lose self in the service of something greater. It is the faith to recognize a star, the will to obey it, and the strength to follow it." Washington's ideal did not waver, but the stab at his heart sent him out to a solitary bank of snow to seek healing of God. The prayerfulness and patience of the man were phenomenal; this leader and master of men and affairs was intent and imperative, but he never stormed, except on rare occasions, when his passion became a torrent of invectives.

The growing greatness of Washington with the passing of time is manifest. His leading English biographer, Lord Charnwood, says: "The American cause was hopeless but for the commanding genius of Washington and his moral authority." The eminent English essayist, Frederick Scott Oliver, says: "Washington occupies a unique position, because it has never been possible to praise him beyond his merits."

At a time when the country was in desperate straits, without food for the army or money to pay the soldiers, who were deserting in hundreds, Washington alone kept heart and patiently endured and waited for the moment of final victory. His individual fortune was unstintedly used in times of need. His army in 1776 numbered 89,-640, but it soon began to dwindle; in 1778 only 70,000 remained, in 1779, 60,000. In four years it had been re-

duced to 50,000, and at the close of the war it numbered only 29,000.

Clinton was in New York Harbor with his fleet. Washington was still holding the Hudson Bay region. The British under Lord Cornwallis took up a position on the York River and at Yorktown threw up strong fortifications and established a line of batteries along the river. Gen. Lafayette at once began to maneuver against Cornwallis and the French fleet under De Grasse entered the Chesapeake and so cut off communication with Clinton at New York. Washington now prepared for the final drama of the Revolutionary War. He issued several fake orders purporting a vigorous movement on New York, and these orders were contrived to fall into Clinton's hands, which, as was intended, greatly alarmed him. At the strategic moment Washington cut loose from the Hudson and advanced by forced marches to Yorktown. Clinton refused to believe that Washington had ventured on such an audacious and courageous move. With a combined army of Frenchmen and Americans numbering 16,000 he suddenly invested Yorktown. It was a master stroke. Cornwallis was caught in a trap and forced to surrender. Washington had won the independence of his country and set for the world an example of generalship that mankind will admire to the end of time.

Just in what point lay his success as a general is difficult to define. Frederick the Great sent him a sword bearing this inscription, "From the oldest general in the world to the greatest." Washington was a versatile and resourceful general. In open battle he was reckless, daring and fearless. In advance he flamed with a passion for fight. In retreat he was marvelous in control, calculating, alert to the slightest opportunity of rebound. He excelled in the power to gain advantage

by retreat. He could fight to the end; he could wait, or he could maneuver.

Washington resigned his commission with these words to Congress:

"Mr. President: The great events, on which my resignation having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the conformation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and may gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest." Then, after a word of gratitude to the army and to his staff, he concludes: "I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the greatest theater of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

When the war was over his influence with both officers

and soldiers gave his patriotism its severest test. His heart went out to the brave men who had followed him, loved him, and never swerved in their loyalty to him. In fact, Washington's affection for his men saved the cause of American independence more truly than did strategy and daring. Ignorant, unrealizing Congress, in principle opposing a standing army, passed no measures to reward the soldiers or to provide for the future of the men who had sacrificed their all for its cause. The officers resolved to meet with the ultimate purpose of resorting to force in order to obtain their just recompense; the army was in a ferment and planned to revolt. The situation was full of peril. A weak man would have held his peace, a rash one would have tried to suppress the meeting; Washington did neither. He quietly took control of the whole movement himself and appointed a time and a place for the meeting. When the officers assembled he rose, with a manuscript in his hand, and, taking out his glasses, began: "You see, Gentlemen, I have grown both blind and gray in your service." He appealed to their patriotism and exhorted them one and all to remain loyal and obedient, true to their glorious past and to their country. His address was brief and calm, but the clear, vigorous sentences were charged with meaning and deep feeling. His influence prevailed, and for love of him they swore allegiance to the government.

Washington's power had been supreme in the army—a supremacy gained by love, faith and confidence. He was their commander in war; they wanted him to be commander in peace. They offered him the position of Dictator—he could have reigned as king. His officers met and formulated a letter calling on him to assume absolute control of the government. His answer breathes the greatness and wisdom of the man:

"With a mixture of surprise and astonishment I have

read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which seems to me big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see justice done to the army than I do; and as far as my power and influence in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or anyone else, a sentiment of like nature." Such words can come only from a true patriot, a man whose self fades into insignificance when the issue becomes self or country. To put aside a crown for love of country is noble, but to look upon such an opportunity in such a light reveals a great soul. Washington fought for a cause and not for self-power, place or glory. He fought to make the colonies independent, and not to play the part of a Cæsar or a Cromwell in the wreck and confusion of civil war. To him alone belongs the honor and aureola of having refused supreme rule and of having effected in the spirit

and under the forms of free government all and more than the most brilliant military chiefs have ever achieved through absolute power.

In Virginia he sought to pick up the threads of his former life, to remedy the disorders caused by his absence from his establishment, to throw himself vigorously into the pursuit of the hounds. He sought to relax, to rest, to return to his happy home; but the past broke in and would not be put aside; the present knocked at his door and demanded his strength.

At the beginning of the war Washington had passed with a single step from being a Virginian to an American—the first American. He could not step back. He must answer again the call to serve his country. He had perceived the greatness which our future nation held, and sought to open up the western lands. Realizing that development of internal commerce was one of the first needs of a new country, he organized a company for the extension of navigation. He refused a gift of 150 shares of stock in the company, saying that he could better serve the people in an enterprise if he were known to have no selfish interest in it. We marvel at the character of the man whom neither personal glory nor worldly emoluments could tempt.

It was six years after independence was won before a constitution was formed and a president elected (1783-1789). This was the most critical period in the history of the new nation. The winning of American freedom was not of greater importance than the establishing of the American Union. The new republic had to form and organize an efficient government to insure the perpetuity of the freedom for which they had fought. Washington was as dominant a factor in bringing this about as he was in winning the war. The Articles of Confederation originated by Benjamin Franklin in 1775, though

assuming "a perpetual union" and a "firm league of friendship," remained in force thirteen years, until the Constitution was formed, but it failed utterly to bring strength or to give an efficient working basis for the new nation. It did not give Congress sufficient authority to run the government—its great defect was its failure to supply an executive head to the nation.

The thirteen states were inviting disaster by nursing petty jealousies, when Washington, by the ardor of his desire and forcefulness of his will, led them to unite. He did it largely by means of private letters—a feeble instrument of today, but more effective then, when the nation was small and Washington's influence so great. Many of his fellow-citizens had been inspired by the spirit of nationality, but Washington was wholly dominated by it. His conception was that of the states bound together into a perfect union. To him this was Americanism. Washington himself became an American and then made his countrymen Americans.

The chaotic condition of the states was becoming more alarming with the dawn of each day. Intrigue was undermining the great work of Washington; even plots on his life were being nursed by those who could not understand the intricate and gradual processes of putting a new-born republic on a firm foundation. Stanch citizens were becoming disgusted by repeated disturbance and commotion, and were being "led by the insecurity of property, and the loss of public faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty imaginary and delusive." Signs of internal revolution were looming up in the distant horizon like a mightly cloud that forecasts a tornado. The confederation, as Washington said, was little more than a shadow without the substance, for the thirteen states were in fact thirteen independent sovereignties, eternally counteracting each other. The seriousness of the impend-

ing crisis is evinced in a letter from Washington to James Madison, in which he said:

"How melancholy is the reflection, that in so short a time we should have made such large strides towards fulfilling the predictions of our transatlantic foes: 'Leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve.' Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this calamity? What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government than these disorders? If there is not power in it to check them, what security has a man for life, liberty or property? To you, I am sure, I need not add aught on the subject. The consequences of a lax or inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a *liberal and energetic constitution,* well checked and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining."

Washington sounded the keynote when he proposed in this communication a "liberal and energetic constitution." On May ninth, 1788, he set out from Mount Vernon to attend the Convention at Philadelphia, but it was not until May twenty-fifth that a quorum was finally assembled. Washington was unanimously called to the chair as President of the Convention. The sessions were secret, and from four to seven hours each day were assiduously devoted to the consideration of the many and voluminous propositions brought forward as constituent principles of the new government to be established. But no progress was evident.

As he sat in the Convention listening to the quibbling, the vacillation, even the manifest fear of some of the members to do what they knew was right, foreseeing no definite

decision, he rose from his chair and made a brief and effective speech. He said: "It is too probable that no plan will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise the standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God." These telling words sank deep into their hearts, and the Constitution was soon agreed upon. When it finally passed, the aged Franklin pointed to the picture of the half-sun on the back of Washington's chair above the head of the presiding officer, and said: "I have looked at that picture for four months and could not decide whether it represented a rising or setting sun. This Convention has answered the question. It is a rising sun."

Gladstone, England's "Grand Old Man," said: "As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at the given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Constitution was forwarded to Congress, thence transmitted to the several states for ratification. It met with vehement opposition in many quarters. Only three states, New Jersey, Delaware and Georgia, accepted it at once, and unanimously. Conflicting opinions were expressed in debate and in the press. Some states feared the Constitution would have too little control over the individual states; others believed it too strong for their separate independence. But the storm of diverse criticism at length subsided and one state after another agreed to its adoption, thereby laying a lasting foundation for American tranquillity and happiness.

"Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" cried Livingston to the people on that 30th day of April, 1789, when Washington, in the pres-

ence of a great concourse of people, standing in front of the Federal Hall in Wall Street, New York City, solemnly took the oath of office as first President of the United States. A great shout went up for the man who, famous for self-mastery, stood before them profoundly and visibly moved—speechless. He shrank from accepting the office of President of the new nation, doubtful of his ability as an executive, infinitely preferring to continue his calm life in Virginia. He had said: "I'd rather be on my farm than emperor of the world." But the whole country turned to him, duty called, and he obeyed; that obedience meant to Washington tasks more difficult than those of war. It meant the organization of a nation of peace, which should have for its aim the maintenance of peace.

Washington considered himself a general, not a statesman; a warrior, not an administrator. But he determined to master his new duties as an executive with a calm thoroughness of purpose which seemed at once to pass into the administration of the government. There was not only a government to be created, but a definite body of opinion also, which should sustain and perfect it. This government, as Washington said, must be mixed with firmness, prudence and consideration if it would win lasting loyalty as well as respect. The dignity of the government had come into Washington's keeping with his office and no one could better sustain it. Never haughty, never servile, profiting from the example of the correct Lord Fairfax, who had visited at every court of Europe and absorbed its etiquette, Washington established the office once for all with a dignity that gained the respect of the world.

He first made himself familiar with governmental processes, then established himself firmly as master, choosing his aids with keen discrimination. He selected a

cabinet which in its aggregate ability has never been surpassed: Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Knox and Edmund Randolph. Here we see the magnanimity as well as perspicuity of the man who neither sought nor occupied a lonely eminence of unshared glory. "He was not of the jealous type of those who 'Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne' —nor of the temper of George III, 'who chose ministers for their vacuous compliancy.' " He sought the fittest in the men whom he chose as counselors. Van Dyke says of him: "He stands in history not as a lonely pinnacle like Mount Shasta, elevated above the plain by 'drastic lift of pent volcanic fires,' but as the central summit of a mountain range, with all his noble fellowship of kindred peaks about him, enhancing his unquestioned supremacy by their glorious neighborhood and their great support."

At the end of his second term as president, after over twenty years of strenuous public service, Washington again returned with Mrs. Washington to Mount Vernon. Almost three years were spent in the tranquil enjoyment of rural life before his death on December fourteenth, 1799. During these years he resumed the duties of a citizen. He served on a grand jury and on petit juries, and invariably voted on election days.

Washington served and achieved in a larger degree than any man of his time. He was an unusual patriot —he was big—he was unselfishly great. He is today a colossal figure in America and in the world. He yearned for the best for every nation and for the individual of every nation. He loved freedom, not only for his own nation, but for all nations. Heroes and statesmen of the past had conceived and brought forth republics, but through personal ambitions or defective construction they soon perished. But the structure which Washington

created and guided for so many years has become the world's most powerful nation.

In service and achievement, he stands at the pinnacle of greatness. The richest heritage left by George Washington to the world was a pattern of Citizenship and a model of Patriotism unexcelled in all history.

WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE
AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED
BY ISAAC POTTS
MARCH 1778

"GENERAL WASHINGTON'S HORSE WAS TIED TO A SAPLING IN A THICKET,
THE GENERAL WAS ON HIS KNEES PRAYING MOST FERVENTLY."

FROM THE BRONZE BY J.E.KELLY ON THE SUB-TREASURY, WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

THE LIBERATOR AND BUILDER OF SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS

1783-1830[1]

THE people of South America represent such a great number of racial types that their civilization can not be intelligently considered except from Latin-American standards. The appreciation of Simón Bolívar, South America's greatest patriot, requires a sympathetic understanding of his people. He himself said of them:

"Bear in mind that our population is neither European nor American, but is rather a compound of African and American. Spain herself is less European than African in blood, institutions, and character. It is impossible to point out with propriety to what human family we belong. The greater part of the Aborigines have been annihilated, the European has mixed with the American, and the African has also mixed with the Indian and European. All children of the same mother, our fathers are of various

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[1]In the writing of this chapter the author has had the collaboration of Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett, Associate Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas; Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America; and member of the Board of Associates of *Current History*. Dr. Hackett is the author of "The Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535" (Baltimore, 1918); and numerous other historical monographs relating to Spanish America. He has edited, with comprehensive introductions and annotations, a volume published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, entitled: *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773,* (Washington, 1923.)

origin and blood and differ in figure and form from each other."

As late as the opening of the nineteenth century natives as well as colonials throughout Spanish America were in a state of oppression. From the very beginning of the colonial period the Spanish sovereigns had regarded the Indians as wards of the Crown and had promulgated humane laws aimed at their protection, their civilization, and their Christianization. As late as 1816 Ferdinand VII instructed a Spanish American Viceroy "to provide that the Indians should be well treated, taught the mysteries of the Catholic faith, and ensured justice." But wise and humanitarian laws had been abused in practice. Justice had been thwarted by conscienceless *conquistadores* and *encomenderos,* or trustees of the Indians, and the virtual enslavement of the natives had been the result. The original twenty million native Indians of South America had been reduced to six million through hardship and ill-treatment suffered during the colonial régime. In 1800 the majority of the Indians were in the Andean plateaus and in the temperate regions of New Granada, Peru, Chile and Bolivia. In some sections they had been almost wholly exterminated. Along the torrid coasts and lowlands of the Spanish Main, Brazil and Peru, the places of the Indians had been taken by African slaves. As a result of the inter-mingling of the Spanish, Indian and African races an intermediate caste was formed on which devolved the exercise of all "vile occupations", such as crafts, trade and industry, considered beneath the dignity of the Spanish hidalgo.

With respect to her own colonials Spain had adopted neither a broad nor a generous course of action. With one exception the Bourbon kings of Spain after 1700 like all Bourbons everywhere "never learned anything," and, throughout the entire colonial period, Spain's over-seas

possessions continued to be regarded as existing solely for the benefit of the mother country. For this reason all political and economic preferments went to Peninsula, or native-born, Spaniards. Only in rare instances were colonial offices above that of provincial Governor filled with American-born Spaniards. Furthermore, commerce with the mother country as well as intercolonial commerce was stifled or retarded by a multiplicity of import and export duties and by prohibitive taxes. Until the closing years of the colonial period commerce was handled altogether in Spanish ships and was strictly supervised and maintained as a Crown monoply for the exclusive benefit of Peninsula licensees of the Crown. For the purpose of preventing competition with the mother country even the planting of the vine and the olive in the colonies and the establishment of industry was forbidden. In a letter written in 1815 the great Bolívar said: "We were never viceroys or governors except by very extraordinary reasons: archbishops and bishops, seldom; ambassadors, never; military men, only as subordinates; nobles, without privilege, lastly, we were neither magistrates nor financiers, and hardly merchants. All this we had to accept in direct opposition to our institutions."

In these ways Spain discriminated in a very material way between native Spaniards and colonials. In addition, a pernicious class distinction was drawn between them. American-born children of native Spaniards were known as Creoles[1] and were generally looked down upon socially; they were regarded as having been degraded by contact from birth with an inferior civilization. It is not surprising therefore that the Spanish American Creoles, excluded from all political, economic and social preferments, should

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[1]A Creole in its broad sense is a child, born in America, whose parents are natives of any country in Europe, or who are of pure European descent.

have referred contemptuously to the Peninsula Spaniards as *Gachupines*.

Over the Creoles, the half-breeds and the Indians alike, Gachupin Viceroys, Captains-General, and provincial Governors imposed an unrestrained tyranny. For, however enlightened and humane he might be, their sovereign was far away—much further than would be the case today with modern means of transportation and communication. In fact the King too often acted upon the theory expressed in the later eighteenth century by a Spanish American Viceroy, namely that subjects were "born to obey and be silent." Ancient universities and excellent schools existed in South America in 1800. But these were designed especially for the sons of the *Gachupines* and the higher Creoles. Education had become neither democratized nor popular. Instead it was almost altogether in the hands of a narrow and conservative Clergy. On one occasion a King of Spain refused permission to the Venezuelans to establish a university in Maricaibo because, in his opinion, "it was unsuitable to promote learning in South America, where the inhabitants appeared destined by nature to work in the mines."

The same fundamental errors which impoverished and enfeebled Spain were leading inevitably by the close of the eighteenth century to the loss of her vast American colonies: First the belief that possession of gold, instead of industry and commerce was the foundation of prosperity; second, the belief that ignorance and blind obedience, not education and helpful co-operation, was the lot of the masses and the keystone of Empire. The same short-sighted policy which had banished the Jews and the Moors from the Peninsula had decimated the Indians in the New World. It forbade non-Spanish immigration, only gave encouragement to the mining of precious metals and stones, looked with disdain upon the sections endowed by

nature for agricultural development and, under penalty of confiscation and death to the transgressor of monopolistic laws, discouraged commerce. It maintained a prohibitive system of agrarian and industrial taxation. In the face of these tyrannical restrictions, the Creoles, "reduced to the social condition of serfs and, at the utmost, of mere consumers, were helpless to exert any real influence in governmental affairs." In short, however much Spain merits the admiration and gratitude of the world for the marvelous part she played in the spread of western civilization, she made many mistakes in her colonial policies, all of which was paid for through the loss of her over-seas empire.

Despite centuries of oppression not all of Spain's American subjects were ready to strike for freedom in 1800. The Indians of South America had to a great extent become dumb to oppression and blinded to hope and during the course of the wars of independence they followed no organized or definite course of action. Of the Spanish population scarce a third favored independence as a means of correcting political, economic and social abuses. Another third remained unalterably loyal to Spain, some in the hope that already tardy reforms would in time be granted. Still another third remained indifferent to the outcome of the struggle. The winning of the independence of Spanish South America, therefore, was the achievement of an ambitious and resentful minority. This fact does not detract from the lustre of the heroes' names; indeed it but emphasizes the foresight and patriotism of the leaders in the face of such apparently overwhelming odds.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the leadership of a few courageous men, chief of whom was Simón Bolívar, the great move was started which drove the Spaniards from continental America. This succession of revolutions was part of a world movement in behalf of

humanity. For example, the greatest movement of the restless century and a half since 1776 has been the triumphant struggle of virile democracy and republican institutions over entrenched, privileged, and monarchical autocracy. Viewed in this way, and studied with proportionate emphasis, it is clearly seen that the revolt of the English colonies in 1776; the French and Polish revolutions of a few years later; the Spanish American revolutions of 1810-1824; the various revolutionary movements for democracy and the right of individual freedom of speech and liberty in the nineteenth century; and the making of the "world safe for democracy" in the last great war are all but closely related phases of the same general movement that was initiated at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

If this great world movement is to be considered from all angles, as it should be, if it is to be properly understood and properly appraised, one should not be content to tell only of Valley Forge and Yorktown, of the glory days of the revolutionary tribunal and the guillotine in France, of freedom shrieking when Kosciusko fell in Poland, and ignore the incomparable patriotism and self denial of San Martín in Argentina and on the west coast of South America, of the military and political ambitions and triumphs of Bolívar, "El Libertador" of Northern South America, and of the martyrdom of Hidalgo, Morelos, and a score of others on the altar of their beloved Mexico. These men believed in and sacrificed for the same principles as did Washington, Lafayette, and Kosciusko. They took up the work where the latter had left it off and carried it into far distant parts of the world. And, far from belittling the work of the latter, let it be remembered that the labors of San Martín and Bolívar, of Hidalgo, Morelos, and Guerrero freed from autocracy's strangling grasp and made safe republican institutions, and virile, though not full grown democracy, in an area many times the

size of the total area freed by their better known and immortalized American and European predecessors in the same work.

Not as many people have been affected by the achievements of the Latin American revolutionary patriots as were by those of Washington and Lafayette. However, one should consider that at the entrance of the United States into the last war, when the clarion notes of President Wilson's appeal to humanity and civilized nations was "heard round the world," two-thirds of the total area of Latin America and three-fifths of its population—a total of 50,000,000 souls—either followed the lead of the United States in declaring war against autocratic Germany or else severed diplomatic relations with that country, while not one of the remaining Latin American countries expressed friendship for Germany, but instead maintained the strictest neutrality. For these reasons the contributions of Latin America from 1810 to 1824 and again from 1914 to 1918, in the long struggle to drive autocracy from the face of the earth, merit our consideration and our study. It is time to give them their proper setting and emphasis in the development of humanity in general.

On the roll of illustrious patriots of Latin America in the period from 1810 to 1824 and even thereafter no name stands higher than that of Simón Bolívar. He was born in Venezuela in 1783 of noble descent. At the age of fifteen he was left an orphan. At sixteen this young South American was sent to Europe by relatives to be educated. He spent several years in Madrid, where he played with the young prince, who later became King Ferdinand VII, and where he met and fell in love with his future wife, Maria Teresa Toro. In 1801 Bolívar visited Paris. There he observed with admiration the great social reorganization which Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, was effecting. At the age of nineteen Bolívar was married in Madrid and

set out with his young wife for Venezuela to manage his vast ancestral estates. Shortly after arriving in Venezuela, Bolívar's wife died.

The death of Bolívar's wife changed the whole current of his life. He loved her devotedly and at her death vowed never to marry again. Years afterwards, he said: "The death of my wife placed me at an early age in the road of politics; it caused me to follow the chariot of Mars instead of the plow of Ceres."

At twenty-one, shortly after the death of his wife, Bolívar made a second trip to Europe. He traveled extensively, visiting Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Rome. In Paris, he noted with regret the elevation of Napoleon from First Consul to Emperor. At Milan he witnessed with disdain the coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy. At Rome, so intense had become his hatred of monarchy, he swore on Aventine Hill to liberate his native country. Everywhere in his travels his mind was enlarged by diligent study and keen observation, and he was able to contrast the progressive vigor of Latin Europe with the miserable bondage that weighed down the intellect of his native land.

Bolívar returned to Venezuela in 1806, having visited en route the United States. There he witnessed the actual workings of a free democratic nation and there he became all the more firmly resolved to free South America from her tyrannical rule. Had he been willing to be untrue to the spirit of patriotism and liberty that surged up in his soul, he might have been the richest, the most powerful of the Creole caste; he might have passed the remainder of his life in opulence; or he might have won high favors of the king and the Spanish courtiers. He preferred the prospect of exile, penury, and death to servile allegiance to a tyrannical government.

When Bolívar arrived in Venezuela in the latter part of 1806 he found the time inopportune for attempting to

liberate his people. In the early part of the same year a famous countryman of his, Don Francisco Miranda—truly known as the Apostle of Independence in South America—had in vain attempted to arouse the Venezuelans to fight for the ideal of liberty. Miranda had fought with Washington for the liberty of the United States and with Doumouriez for the liberty of France. But Miranda, in Venezuela, had been defeated by the loyal Spaniards and had been forced into European exile. Never was the Spanish hold on Venezuela stronger than when Bolívar returned there in 1806. From his estate, however, he viewed with compassion the unhappy condition of his country while his mind seethed with ideals of liberty and independence.

European complications soon brought about the moment for which Bolívar and his small group of confidants had anxiously waited. In 1808 Napoleon Bonaparte—proud military master of continental Europe—deposed and imprisoned the lawful king of Spain, Ferdinand VII, and enforced the Spanish people to accept his brother Joseph as their king. A national uprising followed. Spain secured the assistance of England and Portugal in their effort to overthrow the power of France. Local patriotic *juntas* were organized throughout Spain and a Central Junta was finally established at Cádiz. News of these swiftly moving events created a profound impression in Spanish America where there was a spontaneous outburst of revulsion against the shameless interference of the "little Corsican" in the affairs of Spain. Everywhere Spanish Americans refused to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as their rightful king. Thus, it was not because the rule of Spain was tyrannical, but because the rule was foreign to Spain, that the first general impulse was given to the movement for the independence of Spanish America—the very thing about which Bolívar had been dreaming for years.

Bolívar and his associates were not tardy in taking advantage of these events to turn popular sentiment in their favor, and they demanded the establishment of a self-governing *junta* in Caracas. The Spanish authorities there, however, denied the request, ordered the leading proponents of the plan thrown into prison, and finally acknowledged the authority of the Central Junta in Spain. Though checked temporarily, other European events soon played into the hands of the conspirators. In the early part of 1810 the Central Junta created a Regency of Five to rule Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII. Thereby, with no other authority than any self-constituted body can arrogate unto itself, the Central Junta restored, in the form of a Regency, the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, which had been suspended by the enforced abdication of Ferdinand VII. This event furnished the second general revolutionary impulse in South America, for, to acknowledge the sovereignty of Ferdinand was one thing; to refuse to acknowledge the authority of Joseph was another—perhaps a corollary of the first; but to acknowledge the authority of a self-constituted Regency, ruling in the name of the deposed Ferdinand, was unthinkable to many Latin Americans who, under other conditions, would never have joined the movement for independence.

On April 19, 1810, after the arrival of agents from Spain with orders that the Spanish Regency be recognized in Caracas, the hour for Bolívar and the Venezuelan patriots had arrived. The decision made at this moment by these brave spirits led by Simón Bolívar determined the destiny of South America. Without violence or bloodshed, the highest official, the Captain-General, was deposed and the right of the colonists to govern themselves in the name of their prisoner king was decreed. A *junta* was formed which opened the commerce of Venezuela to the world, removed the capitation and other taxes, proclaimed

equality, threw off, in effect, the Spanish yoke, and evidenced the birth of a new republic. In recognition of his services Bolívar at the age of twenty-seven, received a colonel's commission from the revolutionary *junta,* and was sent to London with two compatriots to seek the recognition and the assistance of the British Government.

The first step in the movement for Independence in South America was the repudiation of Joseph Bonaparte; the second was the repudiation of a self-constituted Regency, which arrogantly assumed royal authority over the Spanish Americans. Both of these steps had been taken in Venezuela with the advice and under leadership of Bolívar. The third step, namely, the definite repudiation of Ferdinand VII and Spain alike was also to be taken, under the same inspiring leadership.

By the time Bolívar arrived in London, England was co-operating with the Spanish Regency in a campaign against the French in the Iberian Peninsula; hence Bolívar's mission was fruitless. In London, however, Bolívar met the exiled Apostle of Independence, Miranda, and together they returned to Venezuela in the latter part of 1810. Through the influence of Bolívar, who proved clearly by this action his freedom from personal ambition, Miranda was at once appointed Lieutenant-General by the Caracas *Junta.* While the first South American Congress, which convened at Caracas on March 2, 1811, was deliberating about the expediency of declaring the independence of Venezuela, Bolívar in a fervid address exclaimed: "What do we care if Spain submits to Napoleon Bonaparte, if we have decided to be free? Let us without fear lay the cornerstone of South American freedom. To hesitate is to die."

On July 5, 1811, Venezuela issued a declaration of independence—the first of any Spanish American colony. The following year war began in earnest with the advance

of the royalists under General Monteverde. Bolívar, who had fought several engagements under Miranda, the generalissimo of the patriot forces, was entrusted with the command of important posts. Monteverde had met with only slight success when a disastrous earthquake occurred in Caracas and the surrounding region on March 26, 1812. The royalists, supported by a conservative and reactionary clergy, cited this as proof of Divine opposition to the patriot movement. As a result many people quickly withdrew their support from Miranda and Bolívar. In the face of these reverses, Miranda proved to be a poor military leader and because of his many blunders, notably the failure to give sufficient support to Bolívar at Puerto Cabello, the Spaniards, with royalist support, recovered their hold over Venezuela and the republic was short-lived. Miranda capitulated to Monteverde on July 25, 1812 and a few days later Monteverde entered Caracas, where he treacherously repudiated the terms of the capitulation.

Miranda was bitterly denounced as a traitor who had surrendered to an inferior force. When he was preparing to leave the country, the patriot leaders including Bolívar captured and imprisoned him at La Guaira on July 31, 1812. When the triumphant and unscrupulous Monteverde entered the city he found his most valued prize—Miranda—in a dungeon. Miranda was misjudged. He was not a traitor, but he paid for his human frailties by languishing until his death in 1816 in a Spanish prison—a martyr to his life long devotion to liberty.

Unswerved in his determination to liberate Venezuela, Bolívar finally went to Cartagena, in the adjacent viceroyalty of New Granada, where he offered his services to the independent republican government of that city. There he published a declaration in which he outlined the causes for the failure of the patriot movement at Caracas, and

explained that Venezuela should be liberated in order to insure the liberty of the continent by preventing it from becoming a convenient base of operations for the Spaniards. Bolívar's services were accepted and in a brilliant campaign, begun with only two hundred men, he drove the royalists from the lower Magdalena Valley. Shortly afterward Bolívar received instructions from the Congress of New Granada to lead an expedition against the royalists at Cúcuta and Pamplona, cities on the Venezuelan frontier. Bolívar began this campaign with four hundred men and on February 28 he captured Cúcuta, after which the royalists evacuated Pamplona. Bolívar's hopes after this victory are indicated by a few words from an address to his soldiers: "From you, brave soldiers of Cartagena and the Union, the whole of America expects her liberty and salvation."

Finally on May 15, 1813 Bolívar with only eight hundred men began his campaign against the royalist forces of Venezuela, then totalling over twenty thousand men. Nearly three months later, on August 6, 1813, with an ever increasing army of volunteers, after having traveled 750 miles and vanquished in fifty combats a far superior enemy, he entered Caracas in triumph. The people, with characteristic Spanish enthusiasm and generosity, gave him an ovation as the deliverer of his country; the City Council gave him the title of "Liberator" and bestowed on him the power of dictator in civil as well as in military affairs.

But Bolívar had not yet succeeded in overthrowing the might of Spain. The cruelest of men, Boves, collected an army of Venezuelan *llaneros* (cowboys) under the name of the "Infernal Legion", and, notwithstanding several serious defeats, finally defeated Bolívar and other patriot generals in open battle at La Puerta on June 15, 1814. Bolívar left Venezuela to report to the Congress of New

Granada. "There is no power in this world," he proclaimed when leaving, "capable of arresting me in the work in which I am engaged. . . . God reserves victory to constancy." Then followed the darkest period in South America's struggle for liberty.

The wars in Europe had ended with the battle of Waterloo and Ferdinand VII sat securely, for the time, upon the throne of Spain. This ruler "by divine right" firmly resolved never to grant freedom to South America and prepared to start a war of extermination "which would leave no patriot alive in the continent." A great army of released veterans gathered from the battle-fields of Europe was sent to Venezuela and placed under the command of General Morillo, a bold and merciless officer. From Venezuela as a base he moved into and soon subdued New Granada where many patriots of eminence were executed without the semblance of a trial. Caracas, once the home of freedom, now became the center of Spanish rule. Not only Venezuela and New Granada, but Peru and Chile, were subdued and Spanish authority completely restored in those provinces. Only in the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires did the torch of freedom continue to flicker feebly, and Ferdinand VII laid plans to extinguish that. The rest of South America was blighted by one of the cruelest tyrannies in all history. The Spaniards conducted their campaign in such a barbarous manner that an official report says, regarding Venezuela: "These provinces have ceased to exist. Towns inhabited by thousands now number one hundred; others have been wiped out. I have traversed roads covered with dying and dead men and many skeletons lined the road. Heaps of ashes mark the sites of villages. The trace of cultivated areas is obliterated . . . "

Even in this extremity, Bolívar had the courage and perseverance to hope and work toward his goal with un-

tiring zeal. It was while at Jamaica during this period that he wrote his prophetic letter about the destinies of the Latin-American countries, stating that "so long as our fellow citizens do not acquire the talents and the political virtues which distinguish our brothers of the north, who have a system of government altogether popular in character, I am very much afraid these institutions might lead to our ruin instead of aiding us. . . . I desire more than anybody else to see the formation in America of the greatest nation in the world, not so much as to its extension and wealth as to its glory and freedom."

As soon as possible Bolívar banded his fellow refugees together in the new Republic of Haiti and in March, 1816 landed on the Island of Margarita, just off the coast of Venezuela. Here for the third time the patriot government was reorganized with Bolívar as Supreme Chief. Despite the fact that his enemies outnumbered his forces in the proportion of one hundred to one, Bolívar landed on the Venezuelan coast in July. There, impelled by the necessity of individual liberty in the building of a nation of freedom and independence, Bolívar proclaimed the abolition of slavery. This was nearly fifty years before the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. "Honor to whom honor is due." The world has been tardy in recognizing and appreciating the first liberator of human slavery in the South American continent—Simón Bolívar.

For the third time Bolívar was forced to flee from Venezuela, but in January, 1817 he returned again, this time to wage ceaseless and uncompromising conflict with the hated oppressors until the last of them had been humbled in the dust. Such an example of indomitable perseverance has scarcely, if ever, been excelled. One of Bolívar's greatest victories, from the standpoint of its strategic location, was the capture of Angostura in the

Orinoco Valley on July 17, 1817. It marked the turning point in his contest for freedom as distinctly as the capture of Trenton had signalled the turn of the tide for George Washington.

In 1818, a large number of soldiers of fortune—Irish, English, and continental European veterans, left without a congenial occupation at the close of the Napoleonic wars—joined Bolívar's army and strengthened it, a much needed reinforcement. A national assembly was convened at Angostura on February 15, 1819. By it Bolívar was confirmed as military commander-in-chief; he was also elected President of the Republic and given almost supreme power. At this Congress he made one of his most famous addresses, a recognized classic in South American literature. He said, in part:

"A republican form of government has been, is and ought to be that of Venezuela; its basis ought to be the sovereignty of the people, the division of power, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery and the abolition of monarchy and privilege. . . . I have been obliged to beg you to adopt centralization and the union of all the states in a republic, one and indivisible."

This address bears a striking resemblance to some of the utterances of Abraham Lincoln, both in sentiment and simplicity of expression.

Bolívar also disclaimed before congress all dictatorial power, warning that "nothing is more dangerous to popular government than the continuity of executive power in the same individual." He added: "Popular education must be the first care . . . of Congress. Morals and enlightenment are the two poles of a republic; morals and enlightenment are our first needs." [1]

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[1]This is the same idea as that expressed in different words a few decades later by President Mirabeau B. Lamar of Texas. Lamar's statement has since been adopted as a motto of the University of Texas.

He proposed the creation of a court that would have jurisdiction over the education of children and the maintenance of patriotism. The domain of that court, which would constitute a fourth power, would be the hearts of men, the public spirit, good habits, and republican morality. Nobler thoughts have seldom been uttered by a statesman or patriot.

In 1819, Bolívar crossed the ice-capped Andean range through passes, some of them 13,000 feet high, which were believed to be impassable for an army. In all history this daring and hazardous feat has never been excelled and has only been equaled by the passage of the Alps by Hannibal and Napoleon and the passage of the Southern Andes by San Martín. Bolívar descended with his emaciated and footsore soldiers into New Granada, and at Boyacá, on August 7, 1819, decisively defeated the royalist force. This victory assured the ultimate liberation of all of South America. From Bogotá the last viceroy fled on August 9 as Bolívar entered the city in triumph. Before the end of the year New Granada and Venezuela, under the influence of the Liberator, had been united into the Republic of Colombia, of which Bolívar became the first President.

The royalists were still strong on the coast of Venezuela, but at that time Spain was prevented from sending them aid by a revolution at home. The final victory of Bolívar in the Northern part of South America was won at Carabobo in June, 1821. Once more Bolívar entered his beloved Caracas in triumph.

During 1821 and 1822 Bolívar with the most able and virtuous of his generals, Antonio José de Sucre, liberated Ecuador in the battles of Pichincha and Bomboná. Peru,

It is: "Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire."

"the real center of Spanish power on the continent," still remained largely under the control of the Spaniards. Accordingly, from Ecuador, Bolívar and Sucre moved against the historic Tory stronghold of South America. At Junín, "where not the sound of a firearm was heard, but the clash of sabres," and at Ayacucho, one of the world's real decisive battles, brilliant victories were won by the combined patriots of Colombia and Peru. At Ayacucho, General Sucre received for Bolívar the sword of the last Spanish Viceroy in the Americas; thus was assured the independence of South America and the fulfillment of Bolívar's dream. "The battle of Ayacucho practically put an end to the War of Independence of America, which began with the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775."

After Ayacucho Sucré prosecuted the campaign against the royalists in Upper Peru while Bolívar remained to exercise the dictatorial powers which the grateful Peruvians insisted on bestowing upon him until constitutional government could be established there. When Sucré had completed his military conquests Bolívar started to join him. En route he proclaimed the Republic of Upper Peru, a name which, in his honor, the national assembly later changed to Bolivia. As Perpetual Protector of this new republic, Bolívar drafted a constitution, embodying his favorite political ideas, which was adopted in 1826.

At that time Bolívar was President of Colombia, Dictator of Peru, Perpetual Protector of Bolivia, his authority extending over a territory two-thirds as large as all Europe. But it was an authority exerted only so far as military necessities made it imperative. He maintained civil authority and resigned all dictatorships as soon as the military objective was attached and constitutional authority could be established. His own historic mission he himself probably best described after the liberation of

Bolivia. He said: "I have fulfilled all my obligations, for I have done my duty as a soldier, the only profession which I have followed since the first day of the Republic [April 19, 1810]. . . . I was not born to be a magistrate. . . . Even if a soldier saves his country, he rarely proves a good executive."

Scarcely was the liberation of South America attained than factional strife and political intrigue began to undermine the work of Bolívar. He devoted his entire thought to the consolidation of the American republics, to the continental equilibrium between North and South, to the stability of the Republic of Colombia, to the Central American Federation. "Its canals," he wrote, "shall shorten the distances of the world, tighten the conventional bonds between Europe, America, and Asia, and bring to that happy region the tribute of the capital of the earth, as Byzantium was, in Constantine's mind, the capital of the eastern hemisphere."

While Bolívar planned these great deeds petty ambitions were designing his ruin. His enemies plotted to break Colombia and rule over its pieces. They assassinated Sucre, whose dominating personality and loyalty were in their way, and conspired against the life of Bolívar. Finally, after having divided the Republic of Colombia into its three elements, Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, the Venezuelan Congress passed a degree of expulsion against its most illustrious son. "Everywhere the artificial handiwork of the Liberator lay in ruins. 'America is ungovernable. Those who have served in the revolution have ploughed the sea,' was his despairing cry."

Bolívar was too great and sincere to dispute the exercise of a power he had so often resigned or placed in other hands. But the death of Sucre and the base ingratitude of the Venezuelans crushed his great, generous soul, and he went forth to die of a broken heart. Shortly before his

death he called his secretary to the bedside and dictated his last address to his countrymen: "For my enemies I have only forgiveness. If my death shall contribute to the cessation of factions and the consolidation of the Union, I can go tranquilly to my grave." These words breathe the spirit of a martyr. He died at Santa Marta on December seventeenth, 1830, at the age of forty-seven years. In the brief years of his life he had laid his mark forever upon the independence and liberties of South America. In the midst of his ceaseless labors as liberator, he was engaged in a purposeful plan to unite all Spanish America into one vast federation; his dream was to consolidate into one mighty confederacy all the territory from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. His vision for a united Latin America was similar to that which the United States has wrought out in North America.

He spent nine-tenths of a large inheritance in the service of his country. Although he had at one time unlimited control over the revenues of three countries, he never accepted a shilling of public money. Few men ever had greater opportunities of enriching themselves; still he died in comparative poverty. His name is everywhere in South America today. Coins, streets, monuments, squares, cities, provinces and a republic, all bearing the name of "El Libertador," are a constant reminder of the homage of his countrymen. His dauntless courage and unconquerable hope command the admiration of the Anglo-Saxon as well as the Latin. His purpose never faltered under the blows of defeat and apparent failure. With a persistence scarcely, if ever equaled, he came back with renewed zeal after each repulse. On his single arm rested for many years the destiny of half a continent. In a conflict where the enemy gave no quarter to revolutionists, and in a government where the fires of lawless insurrection ever smouldered among the people, he has left a record singularly

free from cruelty. With the growth of education, commerce and industry in South America, the world is coming to know the greatness of Simón Bolívar's struggle for human liberty.

South Americans may justly compare Bolívar with the early heroes of Rome. He was a patriot rather than a Cæsar; he fought to liberate, not to enslave. His genius increased with difficulties; his powers were matured in trials; he showered with bountiful hand the blessings of life and liberty upon millions of people. He had an achieving career of patriotism with which Cæsar had nothing to compare; Napoleon had no record as an emancipator worthy of such praise. The combined spirits of Washington and Lincoln united in the altruism of Símon Bolívar.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND.

THE CREATIVE PATRIOT

1533-1603

IT is remarkable that the turning point in the history of England—a nation conspicuous for its manhood and virility—should have been under the guidance and personal force of a woman. The reigns of other sovereigns are recorded and remembered in varying degrees and colors. But Queen Elizabeth's rule became the Elizabethan Age—and the story of it, and the greatness of it do not fade, but are enhanced with the passing years. Three centuries later another woman, Queen Victoria, gave her name to the only other English "Age." It was however, Elizabeth "the great queen" who started England on the up-grade to her ultimate power—who laid the corner-stone of the British Empire. With her peculiarly feminine policy of aggressive energy at home, and conservative immobility abroad, she brought into being the ideas and ideals—those slow moving powerful forces of self-government and culture distinctive ever after of the English people.

She developed a nation distinguished for patriotism and vigorous progress. She restored religious peace to a people torn to the heart by a half century of religious persecution. She was the channel through which the Renaissance, born in Italy two hundred years before, flowed into England. She encouraged in her subjects the creative urge which produced an English literature. This resulted in the developed genius of Sidney, Lyly, Florio, Ben Johnson, Spencer, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe, Sir

Francis Bacon—the master mind, and William Shakespeare—the brightest star in the firmament of literature.

Her influence also stirred reflective minds with a lively curiosity which transformed research from necromancy to a science. She touched adventurous hearts with a new and vigorous impulse toward exploration and discovery. Many daring navigators put to sea. The most noted of these was Sir Francis Drake—who was called "The Dragon", by the Spaniards. He was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the world. (1577-1580). His friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, founded the first English colony in America, and named it Virginia in honor of "The Virgin Queen."

Queen Elizabeth was the power behind an era unrivalled for its strides in civilization, in industrial and commercial activities, and in *culture*. There has rarely been at one time, in one place, such a group of distinguished men as those whom her age produced. She fertilized the growth of these men to their manifold accomplishments. Her greatness was reflected in the greatness she inspired.

In the early part of the Sixteenth century England was in an almost unbelievable stage of simplicity and primitiveness. The people were notoriously lawless and reckless of human life. A momentous transition from local self-government to one in which the crown bore the main weight of responsibility was inevitable. Elizabeth came to the throne in the heart of this transition, took the burden of it on her young shoulders, and soon had all of England in the palm of her hand.

At her succession to the throne, in 1558, there were about 3,000,000 inhabitants in England, scarcely more than the population of the United States at the time of our Revolution. Less than one-third of these Englishmen could read and so few could write that writing was considered an art and a great accomplishment.

The number of inns, ale-houses, taverns, and cook-shops has never been so numerous in any country, in proportion to the population. Even as late as 1574 the average was one to every twenty inhabitants. A few of the taverns were genuine descendants of the beloved old hospices, but the others were mere "tippling houses", hot-beds of religious, political and criminal discussions. Licensed by the Government, the hosts had a degree of social importance, of which they took lawless advantage. They escaped punishment by reporting both real and fictitious plots against the crown and almost any ne'er-do-well, with a friend at court, could procure a license and the meager furnishings.

The only real necessities were a brass and copper kettle, pots and pans, latten candlesticks, iron tongs and a pot hook, a grid-iron, dripping pan, steamer, glasses, trenchers, stone galley, pots, tables, stools and a chest. Wooden platters and spoons were used and occasionally a table knife. The Elizabethans ate with their fingers, and the first fork was brought to England from Italy as late as 1611. Although bedsteads were rare and the people more often slept on straw mattresses with a fur rug over them, the linens were of beauty and quality.

There had been an abrupt change in the social life of the nation. Balanced agriculture had been largely supplanted by the production of wool. The splendid days of health, when fruits, fish and dairy products fed the people—when bread was cheap and butcher's meat dear—were gone. Pasture grazing succeeded tillage; coarse meat was cheap, grain was dear; poultry became a luxury and vegetables practically unknown. The people ate inferior beef and mutton and indifferently baked meal. There were no railroads for quick transportation and no refrigeration for conserving. The food was rarely fresh or palatable. They strengthened their crude ale to make the food edible and this "festive bowl" circulated freely.

In contrast, the aristocrats imported delicacies from France and Italy and a hundred varieties of wine were in general use at the court. They alone could indulge in luxury, which they obtained at exhorbitant prices.

The English people of all classes were in need of a social Renaissance. The personal lives of the forefigures of the age were unnatural and irregular. Marriages were usually arranged on monetary and political bases. The Queen had a fanatical antipathy for matrimony, which extended to her court. Many a secret marriage ended with a honeymoon in prison. Early Elizabethan statesmen often preserved their dignity at the expense of their moral welfare.

The lower classes were especially turbulent and restless. The lawyers at court gained enormous fees and their futures were subsequently guaranteed, but the profession of authentic Court Law was so unrenumerative that it was almost non-existent. Every educated man learned the rudiments of law for his own protection and the more ignorant ones suffered grudgingly. The industrial traders had all the capital, which they invested in mortgages at the expense of the ignorant class of owners and tenants. Competition for land raised the value of commodities and the result was economy in labor, ending in much begging and little charity. Border warfare with Wales on the South, with Scotland on the North, and constant struggling with Ireland, kept the pot of protective war boiling. The most a ruler could hope for was to protect one-half of her people from the other half.

Religious feeling ran high. Henry VIII's sudden imperious changes and interchanges of state religion from Catholicism to Protestantism left an intermingling sentiment of religious chaos. His son and Successor, Edward VI, under the guardianship and influence of his Protestant uncle, the Duke of Somerset, fostered an intermediary religion which leaned toward Protestantism. His "Prayer

Book" was the bedrock of the Church of England. His reign was a confusion of religious changes beyond the perception of a sickly boy, and happily, ended during his minority. His half-sister Mary, who succeeded him as Mary I, was an ardent Catholic, and devoted her short reign to a restoration of Catholicism.

Elizabeth was the daughter of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, his second wife. She was born in 1533. Three years later her mother's marriage to the King was declared invalid and the luckless and beautiful Anne Boleyn was executed. This left Elizabeth a very doubtful right of succession to the crown. She was banished from the sight of her father and committed to the care of Lady Bryan, a relative of her mother's. A resident in Hertfordshire was assigned to her and her half-sister, Mary, who was then twenty-two years old.

In her house on a high hill overlooking the Stort River, Elizabeth was well brought up. Her teachers were carefully chosen—efficient, scholarly men. The little girl was fascinated by learning. She showed such remarkable precocity in penmanship, in languages, and in needle work, that before she was eleven she translated from the French, a poem of 128 pages (written by Margaret of Navarre) and copied it in a handwriting as beautiful as engraving. She embroidered the cover, bound it herself and sent it to her stepmother, Queen Catherine Parr. This book was printed four years later and was Elizabeth's first publication. She was a fragile girl but what she lacked in physical strength took force in mental alertness and in a dominant will.

Her early life was lonely and oppressive, interspersed with frequent periods of despondency. She inherited many splendid qualities—prudence, wise caution, and intellectuality, from her grandfather, Henry VII; personal charm, brilliance, and imperious poise from her father,

which were to prove so potent in her popularity as Queen; but she did not escape the relentless temper of Anne Boleyn. This temper so increased with age that the adulation showered upon the "Good Queen Bess" was often an intermingling of fear with love.

Henry VIII died in 1547 and acknowledged the rights of succession to Mary and Elizabeth in the event of no direct heirs from his son, Edward.

Elizabeth, only fourteen, was put under the care of Catherine Parr, the Queen Dowager, the sixth wife of Henry VIII. In spite of Henry's liking for the lettered world, his unnatural matrimonial proceedings had lowered the morale of court life. Gossip was rampant. Although the ideal courtier is usually a product of mere fiction, there was among the men no pretense at idealism. They were self-seeking, hypocritical and frivolous. All sense of honor or protection of family had degenerated into an idea that life was a scramble and the cleverest gained the day.

Intimacy with courtiers of this type taught the young Princess Elizabeth personal responsibility and rigorous self-restraint. From them she learned the frailty of human trustworthiness. She confided in no one wholly. She never trusted implicitly. When several ambitious Lords of the Court connived to marry her, they were baffled by her mature cleverness. She was disillusioned, but she forced her disillusionment to strengthen her character, just as she used all her failures—as well as her successes—to reinforce her will.

In 1553 Mary I, in a hurrican of plots and threats of revolution, succeeded King Edward VI. There has never been a more tottering throne than that of England when Mary took the crown. She was doomed to a short and unhappy sovereignty, hounded by rebellions, threatened by repeated attacks from the French, and terrorized by plots to dethrone or murder her. In a panic of fear and

suspicion against Elizabeth, she imprisoned her in the Tower of London.

The Princess Royal of England, the next in succession to the Crown, passed through the Traitor's Gate of the Tower, from which so few returned. It is small wonder that Elizabeth, a mere girl, should have reacted to these insults and acute dangers. The sword of Damocles was hanging, very near, above her head. And as it swayed, her young eyes became quick in watching, her heart learned sympathy for the suffering, but her mind hardened and became a sharp two edged sword, ready to cut its way through circumstance. Let those beware who came too near the keen edge of it.

In 1555 Queen Mary married Prince Philip of Spain, the son of that extraordinary Emperor, Charles V, ruler of the Great Roman Empire, who was at that time the most influential man in Europe. It was generally known among the smoldering Protestants that he was responsible for sending the Princess Elizabeth to the Tower. Soon after Philip's marriage to Mary, Charles placed him on the Spanish throne as Philip II. This increased his unpopularity in England and the people would not crown him as their King. They realized that his underlying motive was to annex England to the Hapsburg Empire.

He flooded the conservative English Court with objectionable Spaniards and officiously thrust his influence into every question of State. He incited Mary to motivate the Inquisition—(the anti-Reformation) which is foremost among the torture pages of history. It branded Mary, a Queen engulfed in religious fanaticism, with the indelible name of "Bloody Mary". She was of the proud Tudor dynasty, a brave woman whose will was broken by a weak body, pernicious melancholia, a brutal husband, cruel advisers.

She little knew that Philip's mania—to re-establish Ca-

tholicism throughout Europe (where the Reformation was gaining rapid foothold)—was eclipsed by an ambition to extend his personal authority as far as possible over the world. He was, however, relentless in his zeal for orthodoxy, rabid in his persecution of the Protestants, and he hoped, through marrying Elizabeth to one of his puppets, to make her a stepping stone to his own heights. To that end he influenced Mary to release her from prison, but the young Princess refused to be the dupe of his mad scheme. Only when he had fanned the flames between France and England into open war, did he desert England entirely. He had fomented a war which forfeited Calais, England's last footprint on the Continent. This was the stroke which cut the Island of England and Scotland irrevocably from Europe. The Queen moaned that should they open her heart after her death, the word "Calais" would be written upon it.

In the same year, 1558, Mary died, childless, broken-hearted, forsaken by her husband, crushed by her failures. She had cut off one indirect line of succession by the execution of her cousin Lady Jane Grey and her boy husband, who had been the nucleus of various plots. Because of no other alternative, she acknowledged Elizabeth as her successor.

During the last part of Mary's reign, the young Princess had been kept at Hatfield, in nominal freedom. Her personal courage had been remarkable, her will was unbent; but her health was shattered and she never had the robust physique which would seem essential to her endurance and splendid accomplishments.

She had undergone persecutions which would have shattered a more fragile spirit. Few of the degradations of human life had been spared her. Even her freedom was hounded by enemy conspiracies crowding upon her on all sides—to tempt and to bewilder her. During the five years

of her sister's sovereignty, she had suffered the depths of physical and mental agony. Yet in her darkest moments she was preparing to be *Queen of England.* Each breath of her life was breathed for this end alone. She delved into study which would enhance her value to England—into history, biography, philosophy, languages. She spoke French, Italian and Latin fluently, and had read, in the Greek, Demosthenes's "On the Crown" with that famous scholar, Robert Adams, who was her friend and teacher. He said that her's was the most brilliant mind he had ever encountered.

She improved her talents and developed them into a genius for governing. She had once been deprived for an entire year of paper, pens and every book except her testament (written in her own hand when she was eleven years old). In that year of solitary imprisonment, she learned this testament by heart. She never forgot nor lost an occasion to quote the Bible—especially in Parliament where it "stood her in good stead."

She had an innate sense of finance and was an economist. She never lost an opportunity to improve. She prayed to be "Queen". She longed to devote her disciplined, trained mind to ruling England. She gathered about her men of learning and absorbed from them. With a bewildering feminine instinct she chose a few friends from the vigilant enemies about her, and, in spite of an unprecedented handicap, she gradually built up the bulwarks of popularity.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield, sitting under an old oak, which is now standing, when word came that she was Queen. Her dream, her prayer, which had held her faith high, during so many morbid years, had at last come true. She fell on her knees and said: "It is the doing of the Lord, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

In Westminster Abbey—the old cruciform church—

where every English sovereign has been crowned since William the Conqueror; Elizabeth was crowned on January 15, 1559. England rejoiced. At last they had a sovereign who was "mere English"—mere English in blood, in character, in policy. Rarely has a ruler ascended a throne so brilliantly equipped for reigning.

Elizabeth placed above all else her duty as Queen. It was not only the high standard of her life, it was her *Life*. She knew living in the very essence of its meaning. She was not quite twenty-five years old, yet she had that unnatural maturity which results from too great knowledge and experience. She had learned wisdom through suffering, was brave, prudent, intelligent and self-reliant.

She was not beautiful but she was attractive, slender, of medium height, with olive complexion, wide-set, dark eyes and beautiful hands. She was poised, proud, inherently vain, but outwardly controlled, agreeable and charming. She had that rare knack of showing a human side to her people, showing it with no loss of dignity or Tudor imperiousness. They knew of her beautiful clothes, of her skill in dancing, in music, in riding, in shooting; of her strict economy, her passionate devotion to them, her fearlessness to mingle with them unguarded, her lack of prejudice, her brilliant education, and they also knew how uncomplainingly she had suffered. Their hearts turned to her.

She ascended the throne as the Hope of England, eager and determined to restore religious peace and national security. Yet to any girl, even one so fully equipped as Elizabeth, it was an ominous inheritance. "She was poor; the nobility was degenerate; the army and navy decayed; the people undisciplined and rebellious to the laws; Ireland muttering discontent; France and Scotland threatening."

Elizabeth showed at once a keen perception in selecting

men of brains and talent to surround her. Her chief minister William Cecil (later made Lord Burghley) and Robert Dudley (later the Earl of Leicester) were men of bitterly opposing policies, yet both of them remained loyal and constructive advisers, almost to the end of her reign. Burghley's exaggerated caution and conservatism balanced Leicester's buoyant aggressiveness. Elizabeth found a medium ground, by learning the best from both and adding to it her own precocious judgment, just as did Washington with Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

From the contradictory information which has been left concerning the men of the Elizabethan age, so little is of exact authority that we may paint them in the varied colors we choose. Burghley's stolidity and integrity are unquestioned, and because he had fewer faults he was more conspicuously great. Leicester was a bolder type—a man of brilliance, diplomacy and financial daring. Burghley was of the old school and although he lived several years longer than Leicester, he was never converted to reconstructive ideas. Leicester kept pace with every step toward the "New England". While Burghley struggled for the preservation of English traditions, Leicester pressed toward a wider world of letters, commerce and military activity. Burghley gave Elizabeth the basal cue that the throne of England depended upon the masses of the people; Leicester taught her in lighter vein the way to their hearts. The young Queen adopted a reassuring, unprejudiced policy which was her stronghold in the storms to come.

She made no radical statements about religion, but gradually the regime was changed. The old service—the bishops were gone. Connection with Rome was subtly broken. Royal supremacy was restored. She seemed never to interfere with the independence of the church but she

quietly made it once more English. During Henry VIII's vacillating religion, Edward's New Learning and Prayer Book, and Mary's radical restoration of Catholicism, England had undergone so many religious changes and persecutions that the confused people were in a frame of mind for religious peace at any price.

The first wave of the Renaissance was arousing their imaginations and intellects. A longing for mental advancement, an appreciation of artistic beauty, and an interest in affairs of the outer world were gaining momentum. They had learned the futility of struggling for spiritual belief alone. Life interested them more than after life. It is probable that the people in general rejoiced at a seemingly final religious settlement. They were no longer deeply pious and were impatient at the learning and relearning of creeds. They only desired some simple form of service and reverence which was of minimum bother to them.

But while the change was of passing moment to the majority of English people, it had a vital effect on England's international position. The north of Europe was gradually, under various leaders, breaking away from "Latin Christendom." This swelling undercurrent was the Reformation. Martin Luther had roused Germany and before he died in 1546, a large proportion of the Germans had turned to the new faith. John Knox, a pupil of Jean Calvin was preaching and converting in Scotland. France was being divided between the Catholics and Protestant Huguenots.

It is largely due to Elizabeth's tact and moderation that the Reformation in England was actualized with less wreckage and bloodshed than in any of the nations swept by it. Even the Queen's personal antipathy to Puritanism (which was growing extensively in England) did not drive her to an irrational attitude. She thought Lutheranism,

an established and comparatively respectable religion,—the line of least resistance—and the surest middle ground for unity of the State. She considered the Church of England an experimental contrivance to enable men of opposite creeds to live together without shedding each other's blood.

Throughout Europe Catholicism and Protestantism formed the political dividing line. England, by an irresistible force of circumstances became the champion of Protestantism. By choosing the Church of England, Elizabeth opened the irrevocable breach between her and her cousin, the beautiful, ill-starred, Mary Stuart. For half a century Elizabeth and Mary, by a strange fate, never to see one another, represented the great European struggle between Catholics and Protestants.

Mary Stuart was then Queen of Scotland. She was an ardent Catholic. Six months before Elizabeth's succession she had been married to the Dauphin of France. A year later, at the coronation of her husband, Francis II, she became Queen of France and under the influence of her sinister mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, and her uncles, The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's vanity and ambition had been roused to the danger point. Not content with the crowns of Scotland and France she assumed also the arms of England, intimating that none of Henry VIII's direct descendants were legitimately recognized by the Pope. This asserted her own right to rule England as the legitimate heiress of Mary Tudor, his sister.

Elizabeth knew the possibilities in her cousin—the lovely girl who had the "heart of a woman and the courage of a man." She recognized the necessity of taking a stand and took finally the least dangerous one—to help the Protestant Scots to drive out the Catholic French. The result was not a glorious victory, but it eventualized in a treaty

providing for the withdrawal of the French troops from Scotland. This was signed at Edinborough on July 6, 1560. The regent of Scotland ruling for Mary, had recently died. A council of twelve nobles was appointed, partly by the English Parliament and partly by Mary Stuart. It was a decisive step towards the triumph of the Reformation in Scotland, and it relieved Elizabeth of the immediate possibility of the Scotch border raids developing into dangerous activities.

The Queen took advantage of this comparatively peaceful interlude to revive the military spirit of her people, yet she recommended and practiced strict frugality and thrift. She was weaving the fabric of a new England, and, being a woman, she was careful never to drop a stitch.

Soon the death of the French king sent Mary Stuart to the Scottish throne, but a Sovereign of one faith and a people of another could not long be expected to endure one another. Scotland had become formally Protestant (Calvanistic) in 1560. Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinborough, on the grounds that it invalidated her right of succession to the English crown.

Feeling ran high and Elizabeth refused to acknowledge the rights of succession to Mary, except on the condition of Mary's marriage to a Protestant Prince, a French or an English nobleman. Her first suggestion, the Earl of Leicester, so closely attached to her own court, was gaily refused. Her second—a distant relative Lord Darnley—was incidentally Mary's own secret choice. Their whirlwind marriage took place while the deliberate English queen was changing her mind about the political value of it. Thus in the long blind battle between these two remarkable women, the Scot Queen struck first.

Elizabeth had mistrusted Mary before but now she actually feared her. Their swords were crossed. The unstaple pendulum of popularity swung violently between

them. A wave of preference was swaying toward Mary when suddenly the quarrel between her and her husband, resulting in the murder of her secretary, Rizzio, brought back a waning interest to Elizabeth. But the weight reverted to Mary when her son James was born. Scattered preparations were being made in her behalf for an uprising against her English cousin.

Elizabeth was in the most despondent period of her reign, a reign so cluttered with depression that it would have driven a weaker woman to madness. But assurance and coolness never deserted her. She diverted herself by a holiday progress through England, which brought her close to the people's hearts. She spent five days in Oxford University, where speeches were delivered praising her virtues and learning. She answered in Latin, winning them with the eloquence and charm with which she was so gifted. A few years later (1571) she was instrumental in founding Oxford, Jesus College (endowed by Hugh Price) and in 1584 she persuaded Sir Walter Mildmay, her privy councillor, and chancellor of the exchequer, to establish and endow Emmanuel College at Cambridge. She had visited Cambridge in 1564, and during all the varying tides of her reign, she continued an active interest in these two colleges, whose histories go back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. They are today the preeminent universities of the English speaking world.

On the Queen's return, Parliament opened up the old, gnawing, ill-fated, unending subject of her marriage and the succession. At the beginning of her reign she had encouraged the suit of her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain—and bluntly refused him in the end. King Eric of Sweden, the Earl of Arran, and the Archduke Charles, she rejected lightly—just as she dangled many noble Englishmen—and finally the Duke D'Alencon, the brother of the French King, who, although half her age, really fell in love with her.

It is scarcely to be believed that Elizabeth ever deeply considered matrimony. She had no desire to share her power. She wished to be supreme—to rule the church—to rule Parliament—to rule her every subject—alone. Her famous rebuke to Leicester, "I will have here but one Mistress and no Master" shows her intense feeling on this subject. Her policy was a baffling one—but no flaw can be found in her patriotic earnestness.

She had an almost incredible foresight, which was alternately a weak form of strength and a strong form of weakness.

She would renounce something of apparent importance, and throw her ministers into panic. When the smoke cleared, the Queen had in her grasp something of surprising and substantial import. Parliament was ostensibly chosen by the people, but was virtually appointed by Elizabeth, who knew the value of two parties and two opinions. She kept the conflicting elements, nominally Catholics and Protestants, equally divided. If a man made a mis-step, he was quietly replaced by another of his *own kind*. It was the Queen alone who made a majority.

She knew her reputation was in her own keeping. She was the directing mind of England and she reserved to herself the responsibility of every final decision and action. Throughout her rule she remained a monarch, insisting on absolute dominion because she judged it essential to the welfare of her country. Her one and only passion was England. She sacrificed herself, her friends, and all personal ambition to that end.

While Parliament was sulking about the succession, attention was turned again to Scotland by the murder of Darnley, followed three months later by Mary's marriage to Bothwell. Darnley's untrustworthiness as a man and

Cambridge even claims an authentic charter from King Arthur, dated 531 A. D.

as a husband did not justify such a crime. It was the signal for Mary Stuart's downfall. She was imprisoned by the Scotch Lords in Lockleven Castle.

Elizabeth was a sentimentalist about the Rights of Princes. She sent the following imperious demands to the Scot Nobles: "to release the Queen; to inquire into the Darnley-Bothwell affair; to bring Prince James to England for her protection." The Nobles refused point blank.

Elizabeth continued in a non-committal way to defend her imprisoned cousin. On May 2, 1568, Mary escaped and gathered about her a band of adherents, who were no sooner gathered than dispersed. She fled to England with the desperate hope of persuading Elizabeth to intervene in her behalf, but Elizabeth refused to receive her at court until she proved her innocence of being implicated in Darnley's murder.

The farseeing English woman designed to reduce Scotland to dependence on England and at the same time restore the Queen to a nominal rule. So, in spite of Mary's feeble remonstrances, Elizabeth assumed the rule of judge. Elizabeth denied any personal enmity but foresaw that the recognition of Mary's right of succession would be "to spread a winding sheet before her eyes."

She deliberately determined to inculpate the lords and also Mary, only to such a degree as to induce them to turn to her for mediation. But the plans she laid for a political conference developed into a sort of confused trial, ending with no sufficient evidence against either Mary or the lords. The future of England was plunged into still further uncertainty, when Mary signed an abdication in favor of her son James. Now Elizabeth's last hope of keeping the position of arbiter of Scottish affairs was shattered. But she was an artist at procrastinating. She had always preferred to be non-committal, rather than take a definite stand and the disposal of the captive Mary was

added to her long list of delays. She had learned the policy of waiting when a mere girl. It had been a large factor in making her queen. She would always remember it.

Her ministers were thinking of the present, clamoring for more money and a direct heir. But Elizabeth looked to the future and could find no husband who did not involve eventually greater and more pressing difficulties. She feared that Philip of Spain would champion Mary's cause. He was the Catholic stronghold. He had won a signal victory in the Netherlands; he was building a fleet; he had little reason to befriend Elizabeth; he knew that neither his conquests in the Netherlands nor in the New World would be safe until England's hands were tied.

At this time Elizabeth had few ships and could not finance a real navy. The growth of English piracy had developed to such an amazing extent that it was beyond government control. It was passed over as a temporary and inevitable phase but it was notoriously disreputable. The Spanish were the chief sufferers and Philip's anger blazed against the English ships and forbade them from Spanish and Flemish harbors. Explanations and apologies from England were of no avail. War with Spain was imminent.

The nobles of England were in a chaos of plots, quarrels, interquarrels, jealousies, hatreds, discontents, conspiracies. A body of men rose for Mary's rescue, but the country did not meet their enthusiasm and the rebel army dispersed. Another daring attempt was routed by a band of Elizabeth's border horsemen under her cousin, Lord Hunsdon. This was one of the few battles ever fought on English soil—the battle of Gelt—yet the courage and skill of Hunsdon, whose men were weary and outnumbered two to one, were so dramatic that Elizabeth told the story over and over during the long years when her armies were fighting in foreign lands.

But her pride in this victory did not appease Elizabeth. She was outraged at the rebellion and determined to stab the idea in its infancy. The Queen lost her head. Peasants were hanged. Noblemen were tried and executed and their estates confiscated. At no time could she have better afforded clemency, because the complete failure of the rising established her more firmly in her power. It dispelled any rumor that the English Queen was ruling on sufferance and it steadied her throne at home and abroad.

Europe now realized that Elizabeth was greatly loved and loyally protected. Only foreign invasion could uproot the growing solidity of England, yet no sooner had the rallies to Mary passed into the background than the smouldering embers of religious discontent—which indeed had been the underlying spark of the northern rebellion—burst into visible flames. The English Queen was excommunicated by the Pope, and along with her all who should obey her commands. This was the beginning of a series of plots against Elizabeth, overlapping each other in rapid succession during twenty years.

The Queen's religious views were so tolerant, so broad, that very little outward stir was made, except for one great blaze. This was the master plot of Alva and Philip, for the invasion of England by the Spaniards and the assassination of the Queen. The Duke of Norfolk headed this conspiracy but no Englishman would volunteer to be the murderer of a Tudor, so an Italian volunteered. Only the ceaseless and almost superhuman watchfulness of Lord Burghley uncovered the plot in the nick of time. He found a list of implicated names, which included some of the greatest in England. Among those sent to the scaffold was the Duke of Norfolk, a man of "too great ambition and too little bravery."

The indirect result of this fiasco was a treaty between England and France, signed in April, 1572. They both

feared Spain and hoped by this treaty to inter-protect one another. Nothing could save France—divided against herself—from the succeeding years of savagery and conflict. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day filled England with horror and fear, lest it be the signal for a world murder of all Protestants. But religious fervor soon waned into a calm after the storm. Elizabeth proceeded in her policy of ambiguity, neither dissolving nor renewing the treaty.

A revolt in the Netherlands kept Philip from new activities. Both France and Spain were in need of England's friendship. Her power was on the upgrade. Two English victories in Scotland eliminated danger from the source of the Scot Queen. Elizabeth reminisced on all she had gained by waiting. Her confidence was restored. She set about to foster culture and commerce in England and to develop her naval power.

The first London Exchange had been built by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1571. Heretofore all business had been transacted upon the narrow open streets or in the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, completed at the end of the 15th century. London was now a city of about 300,000 inhabitants. Like all English towns, it was surrounded with walls and trenches. The houses were built of wood, gabled, red roofed and rarely over two stories high. The floors were covered with rushes and long wooden benches were used for chairs. In the better houses fire places were being substituted for the open hearth, but conveniences were meager and comfort practically unknown. A few of the main streets were paved but none of them lighted. They were narrow, winding streets crowded with pedestrians,—an occasional courier on horseback—and more rarely a lady of rank in a litter. Not for several years was the first carriage imported into England.

There was only one bridge over the Thames, the famous

London bridge, broad and lined with quaint buildings, as are the bridges in Florence today. The river was brilliant with the gay colors of the Renaissance—crowded with business and pleasure boats. The Queen was seen in her gondola, wonderfully costumed, followed by gaily colored boats. The dress for both men and women was elaborate, multi-colored, extreme. Dress absorbed much thought and more money. The women were artificial, behooped, often with auburn-dyed hair to imitate the Queen. In spite of her majesty's frugality nothing was spared to enhance her personal beauty. 3,000 dresses were found in her wardrobe at the time of her death.

Court life had become elaborate and luxurious. New shadowy tapestries covered the long walls. Dancing was merry far into the night. The most brilliant and charming men in England hovered about the throne—not the stereotyped and spoiled courtiers of the earlier century, but a group of vigorous, independent, thinking men whose eyes were wide open to the opportune age before them. Poets and playwrights appeared as if by magic. The Queen herself had literary talent. She said she would have no trifler at court who could not write a sonnet and boasted that any English gentleman could write a "tolerable play."

Elizabeth had opened the heart of England to literature. Translations were being made from the classics and from the Romance languages almost overnight. The translations, the essays, the poems, the plays, were alike pulsating with youth. They were the words which flowed from the unselfconscious vigorous souls of men who were not driven or exhausted but who were free and untrammeled.

Edmund Spencer was poet laureate. His allegorical epic "The Faerie Queen", will sing of Elizabeth when histories of her are dimmed. Spencer was a friend and protege of the brilliant young Sir Philip Sidney—"The Flow-

er of England"—the hero and martyr of the futile battle of Zutfen. Sidney had studied in Italy, the heart of culture, and was one of the first Anglo-Italian poets. He was a nobleman of this new type—the first firm tug on the pendulum which Elizabeth was swinging from the decadent conservative nobility of her early reign to the fine product of genuine young noblemen who represented the English court at the time of her death.

Although there are said to have been thirty great poets and two hundred near great ones during Elizabeth's rule, yet her age was noted especially for its great strides in dramatic art. The Elizabethan Age is almost synonymous to the thought of Drama. At the beginning of her reign the Queen lifted the ban against dramatic performances. Traveling players had roamed over England for many years, but the first playhouse was not built in London until 1576. So great was the onrush of fervor for the drama that during the next fifty years there appeared eighteen theatres in London in 1630, a greater average to the population than exists in any city today.

The companies of actors were under the patronage of special nobles, for whom they gave private performances, often in honor of the Queen.

The early colony of theatres was across the Thames, mere wooden sheds, half thatched. There were no tickets. A penny was the price of admission, and a tip procured a "good seat." The Lords and patrons, however, sat on the stage. There was no movable scenery. The walls were usually hung with black cloth for a tragedy, with blue for a comedy. Although there had been printing in England since 1477, the plays were never printed lest they be stolen by other companies.

William Shakespeare, the master dramatist of the Elizabethan Age, and of all ages, was an actor as well as a playwright. He played often to the Queen and the story

has come down to us that she commanded him to write Henry VI and to finish it in a fortnight. Later, the execution of his Patron, Lord Southampton, made Shakespeare so bitter against the Queen that he was probably the only poet in England who refused to write a threnody at her death.

During this development of English drama and poetry other branches of progress were not lagging. Science, navigation, and exploration were encouraged. An English navy was springing into life, a navy which was to make Elizabeth "The Queen of the Northern Seas."

In the face of a tumultuous Parliament the Queen signed a marriage contract with the Duke of Alenson, changed her matrimonial mind, broke the contract, and was forced to pay a ludicrous breach of penalty to France of two hundred thousand crowns. Indeed, during the prolonged and undignified controversies about this marriage, politics sank to the point of the ridiculous. Elizabeth said they were days of "Words, mere words, the current coin of France."

Lord Burghley twitted the court with being more interested in the heir to the crown than the wearer of it. Elizabeth felt the thrust of his tart sword, and continued in her triumphant pose as the "Virgin Queen." Indeed her unapproachableness about her marriage, which so enraged the ministers, made her popular with the people, their fancies still alive to the dwindling English chivalry. She excited their imagination. To them she was heroine, idol, queen, savior.

Parliament was diverted from further quibbling about the succession by the explosion of a renewed and enlarged religious insurrection. Elizabeth realized that undercurrents, resulting from her excommunication, were threatening. She was waiting, hoping to defer the outburst, and paying little obvious attention to it. But the Pope was

watching keenly for the psychological moment. He knew that the turning point of the 16th century was whether the States might or might not exist without submitting to Papal jurisdiction. He knew that the fate of Protestantism depended upon England. Finally, under his approval, a triple attack was formed against Elizabeth; first through Ireland, long since England's most vulnerable spot, still ardently Catholic and restless, and called "The Grave of English Reputations"; through Scotland, now under the young King James; through importing Catholic refugees into England to organize an internal rising under the Jesuits. These three arrows aimed simultaneously for her destruction were crushed, but they left a drop of blood upon the Queen, who had made fame with her clemency and judicious self-control.

This drop spread further over her as the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots came to its tragic end. Elizabeth could hear with cool equilibrium the reports of single-handed attempts on her life, or of the discovery of half formulated plots against her. Indeed she was so heedless of danger, so unguarded and easy of access, that it is remarkable that she escaped assassination. But the Guise conspiracy assumed such importance that outward precaution was unavoidable.

Early in 1584 peace broke like lightning into a riotous internal and international turmoil. The death of Alenson brought France to the verge of religious war. Henry III of France was a chronic invalid and Henry of Navarre, the next in succession, was a Protestant Huguenot. The Prince of Parma was winning scattered victories in Europe. Spain had annexed Portugal and become master in the New World. She only waited to reconquer the Netherlands before directing her hostilities against England.

The nearest impending blow was the Guise Conspiracy.

The life of their Sovereign was at stake and her ministers, headed by Leicester, devised a proposal for a voluntary band of association for the protection of the person of Elizabeth. The enthusiastic signers bound themselves to defend the Queen "against all State dignities and earthly powers whatsoever" and "should any attempt against her be discovered, they would prosecute such persons to death." This was a blatant menace to Mary of Scotland. It forced a few arch traitors into the shadow and many to the scaffold. Elizabeth's value to her nation was gaining momentum. She had the rare satisfaction of appreciative recognition *during* her life. All Europe envied England her sane and constructive ruler.

They realized that Elizabeth's success was not automatic. It was the result of concentrated effort. She was untiring in her work for England. She had standing orders to be awakened at any hour of the day or night when valuable news arrived. She often called councils at two or three o'clock in the morning, which lasted all the next day uninterrupted. She ate only when hungry and had no hours for meals lest they conflict with her state duty. She would gather her ministers around her bed and work with them when she was too ill to lift her head. She worked night and day with a driving force, comparable alone to that of Napoleon Bonaparte. When a councillor lagged behind, he was immediately exchanged for another, favorite or not. She was known as the Queen who "penetrated everything". King Henry III of France called her the most acute woman in the world. She was ever at work. She was never unprepared.

In 1566 the Netherlands had broken into a rabid revolt. They had endured Philip's ruthless persecution to the breaking point. Under the sign of the Inquisition he had made the Netherlands a stage of horror. The climax was the assassination of their leader, William of Orange, Wil-

liam the Silent, and when the curtain fell they asked the protection of Elizabeth, who had assisted them, and offered to her their sovereignty. This would have been an irresistible temptation to a red blooded man. But Elizabeth, like a painstaking economic housewife, would not swerve from her resolution to take small gains and no risks.

She had a feminine intuition as to her capacity. She plunged her energies heart and soul into England's growth, but she had no cosmopolitan ideals. This unbending, persistent quality in her proved to be the foundation of England's *insular* position. She ridiculed international ambitions or enthusiasms. She thought, planned and ruled for England alone, and in spite of the radical insistence of her ministers, she prevailed in her tortuous policy of averting war.

But behind the high walls of Tutbury, where Mary Stuart's prison had been transferred, plots crept in. They resulted in the seizure of papers purporting Elizabeth's life. The English Queen perhaps realized that Mary's condemning letter was the result of a plot within a plot, and she suspected that Mary's hand had been forced by some of her own self-seeking followers.

There were many in her court who were not so reckless of their fates as their fearless Queen. They knew that their lives were tied to the same slender string that held hers, and that Mary's friends held sharp and ready scissors. But Elizabeth realized too late that she had fallen into a pit, which she had subconsciously dreaded and evaded. She could not escape a public trial of the conspirators according to the recent act, "for the protection of her person." A commission of judges, the most able and learned peers, was appointed to try Mary, Queen of the Scots, for High Treason. She was pronounced guilty.

When Parliament informed Elizabeth of the decision, the Queen answered simply and as honestly as she could:

"If my own life depended upon her death, and not the welfare of my people, I would willingly pardon her. It is for my people's sake that I do desire to live. As for me, I see no such great reason why I should either be fond to live or fear to die. I have had good experience in this world. If England, by my death, might obtain a more flourishing condition and a better sovereign, I would most gladly lay down my life. Whatsoever befalls me, death shall never find me unprepared."

It is very probable that nothing was to be gained for Elizabeth by Mary's death, but it was a vital issue to the English people. They dreaded another religious war by the succession of a Catholic. In Elizabeth's reign and hers alone, they recognized the hope of peace, prosperity and freedom. They feared a back step in their progress which was so universally in evidence. Indeed, there was no valid ground upon which Mary's life could be spared. She was a sacrifice to politics and Elizabeth could not escape signing the warrant for her death, complaining bitterly "That her safety should depend on the ruin of her kinswoman."

These two queens, whose stories will ever be told in all its vagaries and contradictions, never spoke together. Their personal feelings toward one another were continuously biased by men who had their own axes to grind. Only the confusion of politics and religion of that very age could afford such an unparalleled and unnatural antagonism. Although Elizabeth's direct responsibility for Mary's execution has been doubted, and she has never been entirely exonerated, the peace which followed in its train calmed the contemporary feeling against her.

Soon rumors of the building of Philip's famous Armada caught the people in a wave of patriotic enthusiasm. Prejudices were harmonized and Englishmen of all classes and religions united to protect the Queen and oppose the Spaniards. This was the supreme effort of Philip's life and

they knew where the blow would fall. When the crisis came Elizabeth had an army of 100,000 loyal men. A body guard of 30,000 was selected to protect the "person of the Queen." Her navy was diminutive in comparison to the glorious Armada but the English sailors shouted that "twelve of her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys in the Spanish dominions."

The glorious victory of Elizabeth's little navy of sixty small ships over the brilliant Spanish Armada of one hundred and thirty great galleons has never grown old for the telling. It was the most spectacular battle ever fought on the sea. It was one of the great crossroads of civilization. It was the decision of the Anglo-Saxon civilization against the Latin. It opened the seas to international trade. It was the corner-stone to English naval supremacy, and proved unerringly that her real defense depended upon her naval power. It made England a sea power in the world and the realization of this set its indelible stamp on the Elizabethan Age.

Elizabeth turned to her court, a court of a new generation. The old regime courtier was almost extinct. In 1588 Leicester died, the only man of the "Old England who had kept peace with the New." He left his step-son, the Earl of Essex, to fill his place, a brave soldier, a boy of talent, but by no means the man and patriot Leicester had been. Essex's personal advisor and friend was the gifted Sir Francis Bacon, whose genius was later to glorify England. Walter Raleigh had attracted the Queen's attention and was then in the flickering spotlight. But the old councillors were dropping off and with them went Elizabeth's own generation.

They took away some of her poise and graciousness, and trust, but very little of her keenness or her vanity. During her sixties we can picture "Her Majesty" dancing in fancy dress, playing the harp, enjoying nothing more than the

compliments of these "young men", unless it was the memory of older and dearer ones.

There was a current of adventure in this more virile younger generation which she could not always hold out against. They clamored for action and would not be denied. In 1589 she sent an aggressive expedition against Spain—an unprecedented experiment in her long reign. It proved a sufficient failure to convince the Queen that her former policy of non-aggressiveness in war had been wise and inspired. Even a dramatic victory over Spain in 1596 did not change her mind nor the direct course of her policies. She insisted that it merely counterbalanced the blunder of 1589. But Europe knew it was the death knell of Spanish supremacy. This defeat had a more important effect upon the current of history than that of the Armada. It brought the world forever out of the shadow of Spanish rule. It culminated in a treaty between France and Spain. A few months later the death of Philip II closed a dizzy decade of strife between England and Spain.

The Queen had long since had a well organized secret service which kept her informed of plots in England and politics in Europe. Yet Elizabeth, who yearned for peace, was destined never to relax into the calm of personal security.

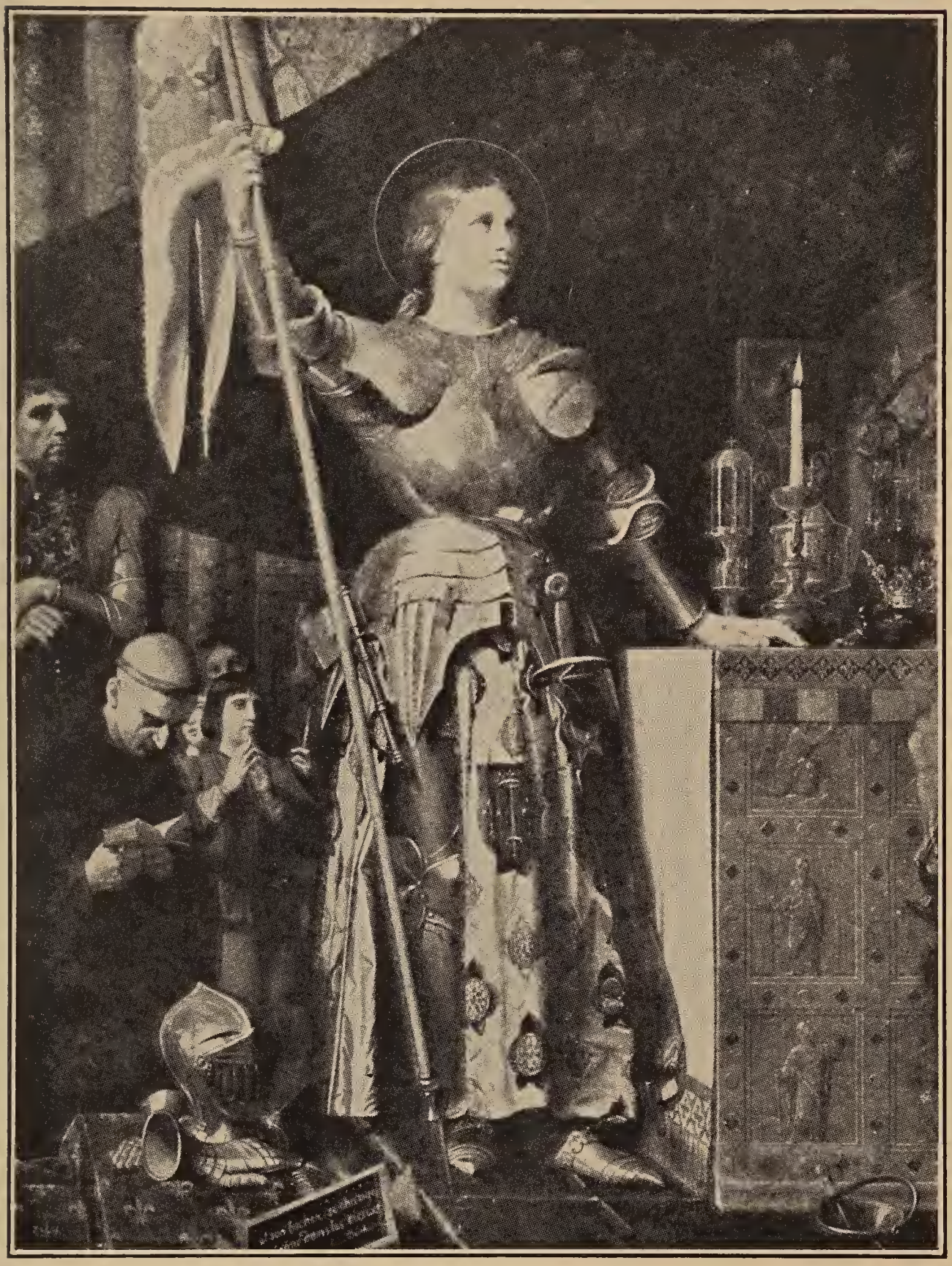
In 1594 Essex had discovered a plot against her of indisputable Spanish origin. He was then in great favor, and Elizabeth had given him unprecedented opportunities to rise. Yet later the same madcap Essex, a distant cousin to the Queen, proved a turn-coat, and, while heading an expedition in Ireland, returned against orders and assumed a role so redolent of ingratitude and treachery that he paid for it on the scaffold. He was built of the stuff that no one can oppose and save. Elizabeth called him the "Last of the Knights of England."

This was the most disillusioning moment of a reign which lasted through forty-five crowded years. Elizabeth looked upon her "New England" through tears. "The Tudor Rule", she moaned, "can never be free from blood." She was growing old. The world seemed too young. Life had spared her few of its joys and few of its sorrows, yet neither of them turned her from the direction of that patriotic achievement which was the passion of her life.

In less than half a century the "Great Queen" lifted England from mediocrity to an exalted position which has endured through three centuries. Life during her Age was a drama in itself, yet her personal accomplishment is one of the greatest dramas in the history of the world.

She made an Age that men were proud to live in. She rescued Holland, humbled Spain, subdued Scotland, established England. Her people were growing in wisdom, in courage, in culture. They were not living between two dreams, one of patriotic past and one of a brilliant future; they were living in the reality of present greatness.

On March 24th, 1603, Queen Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, died; but her Age lived on. Her star was still ascending.



"JOAN OF ARC AT RHEIMS," BY INGRES.
The Louvre, Paris

JOAN OF ARC

THE MARTYR OF FRANCE.

1412-1431

THE only entirely unselfish person whose name has a place in history is perhaps Joan of Arc. No other individual accomplished as much in so short a time and against such odds as she. Historians differ as to the real facts concerning her life. Some writers have endeavored through psychological analysis to show that she was the victim of hysteria and was mentally abnormal; while others take the facts of her life and portray her as a normal girl possessing divine inspiration. Present day writers agree that she was a visionist, but not visionary.

Joan of Arc was born January 6, 1412 in the little village of Domremy in Lorraine. Her early childhood was typical of the French peasant of that period. Much of her time was spent in herding the sheep on the commons by the village. Her parents were peasants. While at her work she spent much time dancing and playing with the peasant children of the village, and was dearly loved by her playmates. She was fair and as hardy as a boy, and unlike her playmates was endowed with the gifts of imagination and faith. Her education was confined to the teachings of her father and mother, and she was early imbued with indignation at the outrages of the English. At the age of twelve, she could neither read nor write.

Joan lived in the most brutal and wicked century since the dark ages. France was under the rule of England. The French government had been overthrown, and the king murdered. England was completely dominating the na-

tional life of France. Charles VII was the rightful king, but was driven into exile, and could not enter Rheims to be annointed with the holy oil of consecration as had been the custom of centuries. The French people were divided in sentiment, and the troops of Henry V of England were assisted by many influential Frenchmen in carrying out their plan to crown the English Prince, Henry VI, King of France. The English soldiers were sweeping through the quiet little hamlets of France, frightening the peaceful peasants, and rifling their homes. They were obtaining more and more French territory, and subjecting the people to English laws, customs, and religion.

In the quiet of her garden, Joan would sit and think over the disordered state of France. She recalled the story of how Charles VII had been driven from his coronation city, and how the English had usurped the throne, and were dividing France among themselves.

One day while meditating, there appeared to her a brilliant, shining light, stronger than the rays of the sun. Out of this light she heard a voice speaking to her, saying: "Joan, be a good, wise girl; go often to church." She felt herself in the presence of an angel. She spoke of this to no one, but obeyed the instructions of the voice. Other manifestations appeared to her from time to time, and she did as the voice directed. At first she saw not the source from which the voice came; but later a winged warrior, wearing a crown, told her the story of her country's woe. He said: "Joan, it is you who shall give the king of France back his kingdom." After he had instructed her and shown her many signs, she recognized him as Saint Michael. She was frightened, and pleaded with the Heavenly visitor that she was but a simple, ignorant, village maiden, unfit to undertake so great a task. She could keep her secret no longer. Being afraid to tell her parents lest they think her possessed of devils, she opened her heart to

the parish priest in whom she found a sympathetic listener and teacher. During the ensuing four years the vision appeared to Joan in various manifestations always instructing and preparing her for her mission.

When at last she was convinced that it was the voice of God speaking to her, that she must obey His message, she told her parents all that had happened. She was harshly criticized but no ridicule was capable of shaking her faith. She was so persistent that in time her parents became partially reconciled and humored her. She prevailed upon her uncle to tell her story to Baudricourt the Captain of Vaucouleurs. The captain's response to the story was a burst of laughter and the advice: "Box her ears and send her home." Her father had hoped that when she was refused an escort to the King, she would abandon the foolish fancy, but her faith was unabated.

During the ensuing year she made a number of visits to Vaucouleurs, and implored Baudricourt for assistance. The story of this French maid of sixteen had traveled over the country. Baudricourt was finally prevailed upon to furnish her with an escort. Clad in a boy's traveling suit, accompanied by a small guard of soldiers, she set out for Chinon to find Charles VII, of whom the Voice said, "You shall make him King." Upon arriving at Chinon she went to the castle, and asked for admission but was refused.

She was questioned by the council. Her answers were clear and confident: "I am sent of God to lead an army in defense of the Dauphin".

"She is a child possessed of devils. Send for the priest," was their verdict.

Later she was granted an audience; she entered the room where the prince, in company with some two hundred knights, was incognito. This had purposely been arranged in order to trick and test the peasant girl. Without hesi-

tancy she went directly to Charles, knelt and said: "Most noble Lord Dauphin I come from God to help you in your realm." The company was amazed at her discernment. Later she was asked how she was able to distinguish him from such a large company, and she replied: "I knew him through the Voices." The Dauphin was elated with the message Joan brought. She convinced him that she was divinely inspired by recalling an incident of his life known only to himself. Her faith and persistence had triumphed.

Her first task was to take Orleans. She had never ridden a horse nor seen an army. Clothed in silver white armor in token of her purity she mounted her gray steed, and at the head of three thousand soldiers set out for Orleans. Her soldiers respected her and believed her; no curse of blasphemy was heard from their ranks while she led.

Upon entering Orleans, April 29, 1429, she sent the first of a series of three notes, requesting the British to withdraw in peace. They replied with jeers and slander.

The French soldiers at Orleans under the leadership of Dunois simply tolerated Joan because she had been sent by Prince Charles VII. It was preposterous to think of accepting the advice of a peasant girl who knew nothing of military tactics. She was endeavoring to accomplish a military feat in which they had failed. They would not take her into their confidence, but tried to deceive her concerning their plans. Without their advice she faced the stupendous task of freeing Orleans from English suppression.

In the battle of Tourelles, Joan was brave and courageous. Here, as in all battles, she did not direct her men, but led them. She was in the thick of every fray. In the fighting at Tourelles, the pivotal skirmish of the battle of Orleans, Joan received an arrow through the shoulder. After having the wound dressed, she returned to her place

at the head of the army and fought the remainder of the day. As dark gathered the French leaders gave up, and sounded the call for retreat. Joan prevailed upon them to make one more attack, and defeat was turned to victory. In eight days this French maid had won one of the "fifteen decisive battles of the world."

"Dead France woke suddenly to life, wherever the great news traveled. Whereas before, the spiritless and cowed people hung their heads and slunk away if one mentioned war to them, now they came clamoring to be enlisted under the banner of the Maid of Vaucouleurs, and the roaring of war-songs and the thundering of the drums filled all the air.

"There had been grave doubts among the priests as to whether the church ought to permit a female soldier to dress like a man. But now came a verdict on that head. Two of the greatest scholars and theologians of the time, one of whom had been Chancellor of the University of Paris, rendered it. They decided that since Joan "must do the work of a man and a soldier, it is just and legitimate that her apparel should conform to the situation."

"It was a great point gained, the Church's authority to dress as a man. The day of the great verdict couriers had been despatched to the King with it, and the next morning bright and early the clear notes of a bugle came floating to us on the crisp air, and we pricked up our ears and began to count them. One—two—three; pause; one—two—pause; one—two—three, again—and out we skipped and went flying; for that formula was used only when the King's herald-at-arms would deliver a proclamation to the people. As we hurried along, people came racing out of every street and house and alley, men, women, and children, all flushed, excited, and throwing lacking articles of clothing on as they ran; still those clear notes pealed out, and still the rush of people increased till the whole town

was abroad and streaming along the principal street. At last we reached the square, which was now packed with citizens, and there high on the pedestal of the great cross we saw the herald in his brilliant costume, with his servitors about him. The next moment he began his delivery in the powerful voice proper to his office:

"Know all men, and take heed therefore, that the most high, the most illustrious Charles, by the grace of God King of France, hath been pleased to confer upon his well-beloved servant Joan of Arc, called the Maid, the title, emoluments, authorities, and dignity of General-in-Chief of the Armies of France—and hath appointed to be her lieutenant and chief of staff a prince of his royal house, his grace the Duke of Alencon!"

"General of the Armies of France, with a prince of the blood for subordinate! Yesterday she was nothing; today she was this. Yesterday she was not even a sergeant, not even a corporal, not even a private—today, with one step, she was at the top. Yesterday she was less than nobody to the newest recruit; today her command was law."[1]

The Voices had told her that there was an ancient sword hidden behind the altar of St. Catherine's at Fierbois. The priests knew nothing of it, but upon search found it. It had no sheath and was rusty. They made a sheath of crimson velvet and another of cloth-of-gold. It was believed that this sword had belonged to Charlemagne. Joan had designed her standard of white satin with gold fringe. The device was an image of God throned in the clouds, holding the world in His hand, with two angels kneeling at his feet. On the reverse side the crown of France supported by two angels.

After the evacuation of Orleans by the English, they concentrated all their forces in Paris. The news of the victory at Orleans soon spread over France, and many influential men who had been aiding the British joined the French forces in their effort to overthrow British rule.

[1]Mark Twain's Joan of Arc.

The English were driven from Rheims making it possible for Charles VII to be consecrated and crowned King of France.

To Joan, Charles VII was not King until he was crowned; he was only the Dauphin. That act was to finish her mission. The march to Rheims was long and tedious. On July 16th the Cathedral towers rose in the distance. Joan was overcome with emotion. Clothed in white armor, dreamy, beautiful, her sublime mission was closing in triumph.

The next day she stood by and saw the crown of France placed on the Dauphin's head. She was like one transfigured, so divine was the glory that shone in her face as she sank to her knees at the King's feet; with quivering lips, her words came soft and low:

"Now, O gentle King, is the pleasure of God accomplished according to his command that you should come to Rheims and receive the crown that belongeth of right to you, and unto none other. My work which was given me to do is finished; give me your peace, and let me go back to my mother, who is poor and old, and has need of me."

The King raised her up, and there before all that host he praised her great deeds in most noble terms; and there he confirmed her nobility and titles, making her the equal of a count in rank, and also appointed a household and officers for her according to her dignity; and then he said:

"You have saved the crown. Speak, require, demand; and whatsoever grace you ask it shall be granted, though it make the kingdom poor to meet it."

Joan was on her knees again straightway, and said:

"Then, O gentle King, if out of your compassion you will speak the word, I pray you give commandment that my village, poor and hard pressed by reason of the war, may have its taxes remitted."

The King seemed nonplussed, and stood still a moment, as if trying to comprehend and realize the full stature of this strange unselfishness. Then he raised his head and said:

"She has won a kingdom and crowned its King; and all she asks and all she will take is this poor grace, and even this is for others, not for herself. And it is well; her act being proportioned to the dignity of one who carries in her head and heart riches which outvalue any that any King could add, though he gave his all. She shall have her way. Now, therefore, it is decreed that from this day forth Domremy, natal village of Joan of Arc, Deliverer of France, called the Maid of Orleans, is freed from all taxation forever."

To Charles, the aristocrats bowed low; but about Joan the soldiers crowded, kissing her standard, and women and little children flocked about, reverently touching the hem of her garment. Joan felt that she had accomplished the will of God, and begged Charles to send her home; but he thought her presence necessary to the army and refused. Loyally she took up her task again, but no longer with that implicit faith that had worked such marvels.

After becoming king, Charles became indifferent to the progress of the war so long as the gaiety of his court, securely established far from the battle field, was undisturbed. He would not listen to Joan's pleadings to give her soldiers and provisions to carry on the war, and drive the British out of France. She implored him for action, and cried with prophetic foresight, "I shall only last a year; take the good of me as long as it is possible."

At the battle of Compeigne her men deserted, and she was taken prisoner by the enemy. The English were elated over this turn of affairs; but the French were sorely grieved. In cities public prayers and processions were organized for her deliverance. Gloom enveloped the peas-

antry of France, while Charles and his court acted with indifference. Joan was entitled to ransom, but none was offered, and she passed from hand to hand among her captors until at last the Inquisition of Paris demanded her to be tried for witch craft.

Once in the hands of the Inquisition, Joan's life was one continuous torture. She was beset by spies, surrounded by cross-examiners and guarded by soldiers who did not confine their brutality to slander and ridicule, but actually resorted to violence. She was placed like a wild beast in an iron cage, and at times was chained upright to its bars by ankles, wrist and neck. They used every means of torture to wrest from her the confession that she was a witch, and that the voices she heard in the garden had lied to her. She pitifully but bravely held to her faith. In an effort to get her to confess the inquisitors led her out into the cemetery and showed her the scaffold and stake where she was to be burned. In spite of all this Joan remained true to her vision.

It was evident that Charles had forgotten this peasant girl who had sacrificed so much in making him king of France. He permitted her to be tortured by the English and finally to be burned at the stake; on the other hand Joan never lost faith in her King, and did not condemn him for his neglect.

In May 1431, she was sentenced to be burned at the stake. A placard was placed on the stake with these words: "Jeanne, self-styled the maid liar, mischief-maker, abuser of the people, diviner, superstitious, blasphemer of God, presumptuous, false to the faith of Christ, boaster, idolater, cruel, dissolute, an invoker of devils, apostate, schismatic and heretic." There were sixteen terms of reproach, and every charge was false. As she was led to the scaffold to be burned, she climbed it as bravely as she had climbed the scaling ladders at Orleans and Jargeau, when at the

head of her victorious army. Until the end she maintained that her voices were from God and all that she had done was by God's command; nor did she believe that her voices had deceived her. Last, as she was being burned, with a clear voice she called, "Jesus". Her body was burned and the ashes strewn on the waters of the Seine; but her spirit has lived and today Joan of Arc is glorified as a saint and a savior of France.

"With Joan of Arc love of country was more than a sentiment—it was a passion. She was the Genius of Patriotism—she was Patriotism embodied, concreted, made-flesh, and palpable to the touch and visible to the eye. A slender girl in her first young bloom, with the martyr's crown upon her head, and in her hand the sword that severed her country's bonds—shall not this stand for *Patriotism* through all the ages until time shall end?"

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

THE MILITARY AND CIVIC GENIUS.

1769-1821

IT has been the purpose of the writer to select the dominant figure of each of the nations of the world, and to give a resume of the High lights of the history of that country. It is regrettable that Napoleon Bonaparte cannot be consistently used as a world patriot, for his name is more intimately inter-woven with the history of France than that of any other.

The dazzling life of military glory of the greatest soldier of the modern world should not lead us to accept him as a world patriot. Notwithstanding the brilliancy of Napolean's success and the unique place he holds in European history, he cannot properly be held up as a model patriot, because of his inordinate selfishness and towering ambition, which led him to a career of world unrighteous conquest. The result was that he built an empire that was not enduring, and set up ideals and standards of military aggrandizement that were fraught with danger not only to France, but to the future of Europe and of the world. But French history cannot be grasped without a record of Napoleon's military achievements.

France, the nation which glories in protecting the oppressed, has an especially warm place in American hearts. The peculiar comradery which exists between the two countries started early in 1780. It was the year in which Benjamin Franklin went on his famous mission of appeal to Paris, the year in which France sent to the stricken

American patriots the assistance which so helped them to establish and maintain their republic. She sent Rochambeau—the cool-headed, fearless lieutenant-general, who packed his 5,000 eager troops into slow transports and brought them to an unknown country to fight for an almost unknown people—to fight for liberty and not for recompense. Rochambeau came to the cause of Democracy—as did also many other illustrious Frenchmen, including Lafayette, the young enthusiast, who left a life of luxury to serve as a volunteer in the cause of freedom.

These Frenchmen, so loved and honored by the American people, returned to France only to prepare themselves for another and more personal war on autocracy. Their names were to go down in the records of the French Revolution—some of them on into the annals of the French Empire. The American Revolution was a forerunner of the French Revolution. Indeed only four years elapsed between the drawing up of the respective constitutions.

It is only natural that we should feel especially close to those soldiers who fought side by side with our own soldiers and that we should take keen interest in the phenomenal man which those times produced. This man took control of the divergent forces of the French Revolution and directed them toward national unity. He does not stand out as a moral hero, nor as the highest type of patriot, but his life is such an unusual example of achievement, such a prodigious spectacle of genius, that he towers above all other French statesmen as a dominant and inspiring leader of men. We may deem Napoleon Bonaparte a world hero.

Napoleon, island-born, inherited neither wealth nor position. A self-made man, he spread his name a living glory over the world; he elevated himself to a throne more magnificent and powerful than that of Cæsar; he

effectuated revolutions and began operations that future ages will continue to utilize and admire; he changed the political face of Christendom. His life stands as an unparalleled example of worldly ambition. Had his patriotism excluded selfism, he would be idolized as the greatest patriot as well as the greatest military genius that ever lived. The story of his dramatic rise to the blinding light of supreme power and abrupt fall to the black depths of despair is one which never grows old for the telling. It captivates the hearts and minds of today as it did those of his own time.

It seems that in the great crises of nations some big man comes to the fore. Such men as Cromwell, Washington, Lincoln, Bolivar, Napoleon.

Napoleon was of Italian descent, born in Corsica, August fifteenth, 1769, shortly after the island had been sold to France by Genoa. His parents, though poor, were of some prominence among the gentry of the island. Little attention was given to the child's early training, and his companions were sailors on the beach and heardsmen in the hills. He grew up a diffident yet wilful child —unkempt and uncultured, pale, nervous, almost ignorant, yet manifesting a certain superiority over his companions.

When Napoleon was nine years of age, his father, as if to compensate for early negligence, secured for his child an appointment to a French military school. After three months of tutoring at Autun, he passed his examination and entered the military academy at Brienne, a school conducted by the French government for the purpose of training officers for the army. According to the annual report he was "distinguished in mathematics; tolerably versed in history and geography; weak in Latin, general literature and other accomplishments; of regular habits, well behaved, studious, and enjoyed excellent

health." He was a poor boy among sons of wealth, and an alien with despised foreign manners and accent. Under these disadvantages he became morose and discontented, shunned the society of his fellows and engrossed himself in his studies.

After five and a half years at Brienne he was one of the few to be promoted to the royal military school at Paris. In October, 1784, he entered the school, where he found the associations still more distasteful than at Brienne. Because of his own poverty, the luxurious atmosphere of the school aroused his antagonism and caused him to repel friendships and to concentrate the full attention of his rapidly developing mind on study. As a result, he finished the course there in one year.

It is remarkable that the young Napoleon, then only sixteen years old, should have been one of the six in his class of fifty-eight to choose the artillery branch of the service. The artillery, though unappreciated at that time, was destined soon to be the greatest weapon of warfare, and Napoleon the supreme master of its science.

Napoleon was commissioned a second lieutenant in the artillery, and was stationed at Valence. The following seven or eight years were a period of such depressive poverty and recurring failures as few men have had the fortitude to pass through to success. His family lost what little remained of their meagre estate, were exiled from Corsica, and became a burden upon his own slender resources. For many months he received three francs (60 cents) per day from the government, ate but one meal daily in the cheapest restaurants, and was so shabby that embarassment kept him from friends and society. Unlike the usual pleasure-loving officer, he preferred penury and privation to debt. He became subject to moods of extreme depression and thought himself doomed to failure. This turbulent and unhappy state of mind

led him into further difficulties, and because of long absences to Corsica without proper leave, he was dismissed from the army.

It was while he was living in utmost privation and exerting all his energy toward regaining his command that the days of the second revolution brought a turn in the tide of his life. The new authorities restored him to the army, and he was sent with his regiment to the south of France. While he was there an insurrection occurred in Marseilles. In a paper written on the subject in the form of an imaginary conversation called "Le Souper de Beaucaire," the young officer discussed the situation with such justice and keen insight that the government ordered it published at public expense. It is significant that a literary effort rather than a military accomplishment first brought the name of Napoleon Bonaparte into prominence.

Toulon followed Marseilles in a counter revolution by opening its harbor to the English. Napoleon, now a lieutenant-colonel, joined the French army, which had promptly laid siege to the city (1793). He proposed a plan of forcing the issue by the capture of a single position from which the French guns could dominate the harbor. It was chiefly due to this strategy and his energy in organizing the artillery and munition departments that Toulon was taken. He was only twenty-four years old, but as he himself said, "people age quickly on the field of battle." Although the victory at Toulon plays a minor role in the history of France, it stands out with especially significant importance in the rise of Napoleon. It was there that he had the first occasion to show his military ability; it was there he first met with the English, who were to play such a tragic role in his life; it was there he first came in contact with Junot, Marmont, Duroc, Barras—men who were to be so closely and vitally associated with his stormy career.

Who does not thrill at the account of his first meeting with Junot? The young man came to Napoleon to take dictation, and while he was writing, a bomb burst near by, covering him and the letter with earth. "Good," said he, laughing, "I shall not need any sand to dry the ink." Napoleon, impressed by such cool bravery, from that time kept the young sergeant by his side. It was, in fact, Junot who described Napoleon after the siege of Toulon as "one of those men of whom nature is avaricious and that she permits upon the earth only from age to age."

Napoleon received honorable mention for his services, and favors were granted him and his family. He was made a Brigadier-General of Artillery, and served efficiently on the Italian frontier. Through the jealousy of the War Minister, Aubry, he was recalled and ordered to command an infantry brigade in the West. This unjust demotion was avoided by a concocted leave for sickness. Finally, through the influence of the powerful conventionalist, Barras, who had become interested in him at Toulon, he was stationed in the Department of Topography at the war office in Paris. It was at this time that he prepared a plan of campaign in Italy, which was the laughing-stock of the commanding generals in the field. This plan, with few material changes, he himself afterward carried out brilliantly in the famous first Italian campaign.

As the revolutionary reconstruction continued, Napoleon became identified with the convention. On October fifth, 1795, the Sections rose against the government. Barras, the nominal head of the defence, gave Napoleon command of the 5,000 troops provided for the protection of the Tuileries, where the convention was in session. He had but one night in which to formulate plans and arrange defence, yet he did his work so thoroughly that it took less than one hour of actual fighting to gain a victory

over an enemy numbering about 40,000. Although Toulon had caused him to be favorably recommended as an officer, this was the first evidence of phenomenal genius. It resulted in his appointment to the command of the Army of the Interior. He was twenty-six years old. This surprising position had been attained by an unsurpassed energy and a phenomenal grasp of detail. He once said: "There is nothing I cannot do for myself. If there is no one to make powder for the cannon, I can do it."

With his prosperity came a new position and interest in the social life of Paris. On March ninth, 1796, he was married to Josephine Beauharnais—a widow of great personal charm and influence. However, he was immediately appointed commander of the army of Italy, and two days after his marriage departed to join the army, which for three or four years had been repeatedly defeated by Sardinians and Austrians.

Napoleon's first problem was to fire the ambition and gain the confidence of the soldiers. In taking command he addressed them as follows:

"Soldiers, you are hungry and naked; the Republic owes you much, but she has not the means to acquit herself of her debts. The patience with which you support your hardships among these barren rocks is admirable, but it cannot procure you glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains that the sun beholds; rich provinces, opulent towns; all shall be at your disposal. Soldiers, with such a prospect before you, can you fail in courage and constancy?" This was the first of those remarkable speeches which thereafter preceded and followed his battles. He showed in them a mastery of the art of persuasion and a picturesque command of words which never failed to dominate men.

Napoleon's 40,000 ragged, hungry and disheartened soldiers were opposed by a much larger force. But within

fifteen days these troops, jeeringly called the "rag heroes," gained six victories, and within two months secured the whole of north Italy for France. Hostilities continued with Austria until November fifteenth, when, after three days' fighting, he won at Arcola the decisive battle of the campaign—a campaign as dazzling to the French as it was terrifying to the enemy.

Napoleon's personal bravery during these months won for him an almost superstitious adoration from his soldiers and the title of "Little Corporal." A most striking example of bravery was in the engagement at Lodi. When his troops hesitated to make a charge across a wooden bridge covered by 30 cannons, he sprang to their head and led them into the deadly fire.

Again at Arcola the fight was at a bridge. "The Little Corporal's" life was only saved by the heroism of his grenadiers, who forcibly dragged him back from the centre of the bridge, where he himself had dashed to plant a standard. Such utter contempt of death appealed to his soldiers hearts. Although a man of small stature, scarcely five feet four inches tall, with a sallow and serious face, he had a commanding presence which inspired instant respect and obedience. His personal magnetism caused him to be loved by all with whom he came in contact. The devotion of his soldiers almost amounted to an obsession. In later years his old guard formed as bold a background for him as did the Tenth Legion for Julius Cæsar.

In February, 1797, after cleverly ending an armistice previously made with the Pope, Napoleon invaded the states of the Church. Within three weeks the Pope was compelled to procure peace by the surrender of several provinces. By April first the Italian campaign was closed, during which Napoleon, by his ingenious plans, rapid movements and daring assaults, out-generaled his antagonists completely. Although a mere youth he de-

feated the oldest and ablest generals in Europe, and by his new principles of strategy overturned their whole system of military science. These exploits drew the eyes of the world in wonder upon him and marked him for ultimate greatness.

On his return to Paris in 1797 he was hailed with boundless enthusiasm as the idol of his countrymen and the man who had retrieved the prestige of France. He was twenty-eight years of age. The dazzled multitude attributed his success to intuitive genius alone. Some there were, however, who had seen him at Brienne studying the lives of Plutarch and of Cæsar; some who had watched him as a student in Paris pinching and sacrificing to help his family; and some who had known him as a young officer working with a perseverance unknown among the soldiers—they knew that it was not genius alone, but a gigantic eagerness for knowledge and an almost superhuman capacity for work.

He had plundered Italy and sent such rich and exquisite spoils to Paris that the war more than paid for itself. This pointed out to France a way to wage war with but little expense, and greatly facilitated his ambitious plans. He thought that the glory of France, as well as the security of its domestic government, required further supremacy in the scale of European nations. This could only be assured by the force of war. The diplomatic machinations of England among the enemies of France directed first attention to her, and Napoleon was put in command of an army created to challenge her power. Realizing the futility of an invasion of the British Isles at that time, he determined to strike her through Egypt. This plan was readily agreed to by the political heads of the government, whose jealousy and fear were aroused by Napoleon's growing popularity and power. They were relieved to be rid of him until their positions were more secure.

Napoleon dreamed of an Oriental realm, but the dream was short-lived. He captured the island of Malta and proceeded victoriously through Alexandria to Cairo, where he began to reorganize the civil and military government of Egypt. Word came that the English under Admiral Nelson had closely pursued them and destroyed practically the entire French fleet, cutting the line of communication with Europe by sea. This was the first manifestation of that dogged hatred between the two men which followed him through his career and hung a leaden weight upon his ambitious dreams even to the field of Waterloo. The Sultan seized the opportunity to declare a holy war. Napoleon led his army with all possible haste into Syria, thence into Eastern Europe, where he left it sadly depleted, in command of General Kleber.

Receiving word that the Directory was in tottering disorder and the credit of the government wholly gone, he hurried back to France. Upon his arrival in Paris he immediately realized that his ideals of liberty and equality were nothing but watchwords for destruction in the hands of the ignorant impulsive classes. He saw that the revolution needed a guiding hand and France a directing head.

With the co-operation of Moreau and other generals then in Paris, he succeeded in abolishing the Directory early in November. A new constitution was drawn up, under which there were to be three consuls—Napoleon, Cambaceres, a famous lawyer, and Lebrun, a skilled administrator. Napoleon as First Consul had practically all power. He could appoint all public officers, propose all public measures in peace and war, and command all administrative affairs, both civil and military. He was thirty years of age.

The great popular feeling was strongly with the First Consul. He systematically set about reforming the

civil affairs of France. He recruited the national treasury, founded the Bank of France, recalled the "Emigrés" of the Revolution, created the "Legion of Honor," reopened churches, established schools and hospitals, repealed the more violent laws that had been passed during the revolution, and, most important of all, showed matchless ability in promoting the industry and commerce of the nation. In fact, economic progress was so rapid as to arouse great uneasiness in England.

Having thus established and invigorated the government, he created a sentiment favorable to the renewal of hostilities against Austria, England and Turkey. He offered terms of peace which he knew could only be rejected, and started his campaign against Austria through Italy. While his other generals were fighting elsewhere, by the most skillful preparation and in deepest secrecy, Napoleon himself led an army in a surprise attack across the Alps into Italy. He advanced into the open plain with a comparatively small number, and under the guise that it was only a division, engaged the entire Austrian army in the battle of Marengo. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon his generals reported that a retreat had commenced. Yet, when his expected reinforcements arrived, Napoleon, in the midst of unbelievable havoc, remained cool, and with remarkable deliberation spent an hour planning an attack which turned defeat into decisive victory. Within two months he captured and set up governments in Milan, Turin and Genoa.

Although Napoleon's antagonists could seldom anticipate his plans, and his own generals were frequently uncertain because of his deliberate secretiveness, he himself had very positive and well-defined rules of warfare:

"Attacks should not be scattered, but should be concentrated."

"Always be superior to the enemy at the point of attack."

"Time is everything."

To these essentials he added marvelously inventive strategy.

During one of his brief visits to Paris, the Austrians were so severely defeated by General Moreau that they sued for peace, and Napoleon concluded the Treaty of Luneville, February 9, 1801. Treaties were subsequently made with Spain, Naples, Portugal, Russia, Turkey and the Pope. Finally, on March twenty-seventh, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was concluded, by which England was to retain Ceylon and Trinidad, but was to evacuate the islands and ports of the Mediterranean; France was to restore Malta to the Knights of the Order of St. John, to restore Egypt to Turkey, to guarantee the integrity of Portugal, and to evacuate Rome and Naples. Neither side adhered to the treaty, which proved to be no more than a farcical armistice.

August 4, 1802, by a decree of the Senate, Napoleon was made First Consul for life. He spent the next years in performing his greatest service to the French people and to the world. He assembled the foremost lawyers of the nation and drew up a code of civil laws, known later as "The Code Napoleon."

This code is but another monument to an intellect whose grasp was universal. Heretofore, France had been divided into provinces, each governed by its own peculiar and imperfect laws and customs. There had been no great system of jurisprudence or coincidence of laws. All had been confusion and insecurity. The Code Napoleon was a system of laws of such perfect and universal application that the rights of persons and property were everywhere fixed. Security was felt and public confidence established.

Good laws and their impartial administration are the essence of liberty and the foundation of happiness. Na-

poleon gave these to France. His code sprang into existence at once with all these features of wisdom and perfection which other systems owed to the gradual improvement of centuries.

On Easter Sunday, 1802, a concordat with the Pope was proclaimed with great pomp at Notre Dame, by which the Roman Catholic religion, which had been driven from France by the Revolution, was reestablished, with such restrictions as to make the Church subordinate to the state.

The conception of the Louisiana Purchase, usually attributed to Thomas Jefferson, because completed by representatives whom he had sent to buy New Orleans, was in reality the fruit of Napoleon's brain. It was on Easter Sunday, April 10th, 1803, while attending service in Notre Dame, that the idea came to him which was to be of such vital import to the future of the United States. His active brain never relaxed from the weight of state, and no one knew as well as he the danger of losing that American colony through the power of England's supreme navy. The sudden inspiration to sell the whole territory to America caused Napoleon to abruptly leave the Cathedral, call his cabinet, and present the idea to Robert Livingston, the United States Minister to France. Twenty days later, papers were signed deeding Louisiana to the United States for the sum of 15 million dollars. This purchase more than doubled the area of the United States. The area of the original 13 states was 827,844 square miles; that of the Louisiana Purchase, 875,025 square miles.

But trouble was brewing in Europe. The incorporation at this time of Elba, Piedmont and Parma with France was regarded by England as an infringement of the Treaty of Amiens. On May eighteenth, she declared war on France. Napoleon thought the time oppor-

tune to gratify a burning ambition to assume imperial power and dignity. An appeal was made to the nation, and by a vote of over three million against less than three thousand, or one thousand to one, he was given the title and prerogatives of Emperor. He was thirty-five years of age. Napoleon was made Emperor by direct suffrage. His family was invested with the right of hereditary succession.

On December second, 1804, at a coronation ceremony performed in Notre Dame by Pope Pius VII, Napoleon and Josephine were crowned Emperor and Empress of France.

The old fear and jealousy of England increased with Napoleon's power. She had long sought to form alliances against him by offers of naval, military and financial aid. Following rapidly upon the coronation, she united with Russia, Austria and Sweden in a coalition against the new Emperor.

In France an army of 120,000 men was raised, apparently for the invasion of England. That project was unexpectedly abandoned, and Napoleon led his magnificent military machine into Austria. He was joined by Bernadotte (coming from Hanover) and by Marmont (from Holland), whose additional troops swelled the lists to 200,000 men. Napoleon called it the Grand Army.

Within two months (September and October, 1805) he marched from Boulogne to the Danube, overwhelming his enemies by such masterly tactics that his loses were practically nothing. He seized Hanover, the appanage of the English kings, and established himself in the heart of Germany. Ulm capitulated and Vienna was at his mercy. He proceeded to Austerlitz, where he, as ever, showed the genius of his leadership by defeating the combined Russian and Austrian armies in an overwhelming victory (December 2, 1805). The importance of Auster-

litz is told in the last words of the great English statesman, William Pitt, who was mortally ill when word of the battle came. He sighed, "Alas, my country," turned his face to the wall and died.

Austria instantly sued for a separate peace, signed at Presburg December 26th. Russia retired behind her own frontier; England, in spite of her naval victory of Trafalgar, which was the death-blow for Napoleon's dream of an invasion, entered into an agreement whereby hostilities should cease by the restoration of Hanover. This caused dissension with the Prussians, who forthwith declared war with France. After the battle of Jena the German armies were driven in flight across the Elbe, and the French Emperor entered Berlin in triumph.

Napoleon established himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine, a league composed of sixteen German princes, including practically all of Germany, except Prussia and Austria. The Prussians had combined with Russia, and Napoleon boldly followed them into Poland. He won renowned victories at Eylan (Feb. 8, 1807) and Friedland (June 14th). The three rulers met at Tilsit, where Napoleon dictated his own terms of peace. It is said that the beautiful Queen Louise of Prussia vainly tried to secure from him better terms. Napoleon wrote to Josephine of her, "The Queen of Prussia is really charming; she is full of coquetry toward me, but do not be jealous; I am an oilcloth off which all runs. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant."

After the Treaty of Tilsit, July 9th, 1807, Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. He was called the "King of Kings." At thirty-seven years of age he was practically supreme Dictator in the continent of Europe. His craving for glory was insatiable. He determined to undermine the power of England by establishing the "continental blockade." It decreed that all continental govern-

ments should confiscate the property of English citizens wherever found—and should prohibit all trade or intercourse with England. This forced coalition against England eventually led to the dethronement of the Pope, the conquest of Portugal (caused by their refusal to seize British property), and the bitterly mistaken invasion of Spain, which ended in the seven years' Peninsular War. It was first in Spain that Napoleon met with that sublime popular patriotism before which diplomacy and force lose their power.

In the seizure of Spain were sown the first seeds of his downfall. It cost him 300,000 men and left him weakened in Central Europe. Northern Germany was in insurrection, and Austria, urged on by England, was preparing to strike another blow against him. Napoleon returned from Spain abruptly. He collected his scattered army with remarkable velocity and opened the road to Vienna within a month. Here he remained on the island of Lambau, ostensibly shut in by the Austrians, but in reality waiting reinforcements, which soon swelled his army to 150,000. July 4th, 1809, in a terrific storm, he led his troops, in a prodigious crossing of the Danube, to the fields of Wagram. After two days' fighting, a great French victory resulted, and a peace compact was arranged by the Treaty of Vienna, October 14th, 1809. The surface of his success was again smooth.

The years 1810 and 1811 were pinnacles of Napoleon's greatness, and were spent in the luxury of court life. He never forgot them. His empire extended from the frontiers of Denmark to those of Naples. It was divided into one hundred and thirty provinces and had a population of 42 million people. In addition, he had control over Spain, the Italian Kingdoms, Switzerland and the Confederation of the Rhine. France bestowed upon him all the adulation of her hero-worshipping people.

He was a born leader; his abounding self-confidence gave him courage to dare that which was apparently impossible. His influence over men was phenomenal. As an inspirer of armies, a commander-in-chief, a strategist, a law-giver and a ruler, he was pre-eminent. His mental and physical vigor was almost incredible. He frequently held important conferences lasting throughout the night, and it was not unusual for him to give dictation from midnight to early morning. He required only four or five hours' sleep. He kept three or four secretaries busy at once. With his abnormally retentive memory for detail he would correct a clerk in a trivial fact as unhesitatingly as a minister upon a matter of international import. Particularly in military matters this ability for detail and memory was almost superhuman. He knew without hesitation the precise situation of his armies, their strength in men and munitions, the names of their leaders and the amount of military stores on hand or required at all points.

Napoleon's deep loyalty and devotion to his own family did not waver with his dizzy rise to power. He lavished upon them great fortunes, high positions and royal titles. Joseph, his oldest brother, he made King of Naples; Louis (married to Josephine's daughter, Hortense), King of Holland. His sisters became princesses; his mother was given the highest title in France, that of Madame Mère.

It is remarkable that a man of such dynamic will should have been always so sensitive to the influence of his family. During this period of peace he was persuaded by them and other advisers to divorce his wife, Josephine, who had borne no children to succeed him as Emperor. Even after this separation they remained devoted friends, and Josephine died of a broken heart in 1814. Napoleon was a fatalist, and in after years often said that his good luck

had departed with Josephine. Soon after the divorce he married the 18-year-old Austrian Archduchess, Marie Louise. The next year, on March 20th, 1811, she gave birth to a son, who, in his cradle, was proclaimed King of Rome.

We now turn the pages of Napoleon's career regretfully, yet with a growing appreciation of the fact that power lives through devotion to country and dies through devotion to self. In the midst of this apparent security there were forces of unrest at work prophetic of evil days to come. The Continental system was weighing heavily on the Russian people, and war soon became inevitable. In May, 1812, Napoleon concentrated at Dresden an army of over 650,000 men for the invasion of Russia and Sweden. It was called "The Army of Twenty Nations," and in truth there were almost as many Slavs, Spaniards, Italians, Bavarians, Dutch, Poles and other foreigners as there were Frenchmen.

The Russians craftily withdrew before his advance and his soldiers were unable to endure the hardships of a winter campaign in the vigorous climate (frequently 25 degrees below zero). A disastrous retreat was forced by the burning of Moscow by the Russians. They had completely devastated the country, so that no supplies were available, and in December, when the Emperor returned hastily in advance of his army to France, they had been reduced to about 25,000 men. Had the campaign in Russia been victorious, the capstone of Napoleon's imperial splendor would have been in place.

But the spirit of Europe was gradually rising against this great devastation of life. Prussia, Russia, England, Sweden and Spain formed a coalition against Napoleon, who, by draining France of men and money, raised another army of 250,000 men to meet them. With this army in a campaign, which was doomed from the first to failure, he made a last stand against the allies—a stand

so feeble in men and morale that on March 30th, 1814, Paris fell into the hands of Alexander and Wellington. The French Emperor was forced to abdicate the throne. He wrote and signed the following document: "The allied powers, having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the throne of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of his life, which he is not ready to make in the interest of France."

Napoleon retired with his guard to the Island of Elba, of which he had been allowed sovereignty. He was given a revenue of six million francs, and with apparent content reorganized the government of the little island and inaugurated many beneficial reforms. But his heart longed for leadership, for his people and for his army. During his ten months in Elba he was quietly planning and awaiting the period of unrest he knew would follow the return of the Bourbons. On the first day of March, 1815, he landed at Cannes, on the southern coast of France, with 1,000 of his faithful "Old Guard." His dramatic and audacious confidence was rewarded with a thrilling response.

The army, which had tearfully and reluctantly parted from the man who had led them through so many battles to victory, had shared their hardships, inspired their love, and understood them always, received with enthusiasm and admiration that same man whose courage and daring fearlessness had brought him back from exile and defeat. The whole south of France threw itself at Napoleon's feet and he began a triumphant march to Paris. The troops sent forth under Marshal Ney to bring him back "in an iron cage" joined his forces and marched back to Paris with him, while the craven King Louis XVIII fled. The

Emperor often referred to this march from Cannes to Paris as the happiest event in his life. It exemplifies distinctly a great secret of his success, which consisted of an ability to attempt the apparently impossible and by its very unexpectedness succeed. He surmounted the greatest obstacles and used them as a means to his own end. His triumphant march ended in an anti-climax which dulled Napoleon's enthusiasm. Upon his return to Paris he found Josephine dead and Marie Louise departed indifferently to a gay life in Ajaccion; and his son in the hands of the enemy as hostage.

The allies, astounded at the ease with which Napoleon was rehabilitated, sent an army under Wellington and Blücher toward the French border. On June 16th, 1815, Napoleon with 130,000 men met and defeated Blücher at Ligny. This, however, proved only a forerunner of the famous battle of Waterloo on June eighteenth. Never had the French soldiers shown such bravery and fighting ability. With inferior numerical forces they sustained during a whole day an aggressive attack against the English, who dared not advance a foot until reinforced by 20,000 Prussians. So tremendously outnumbered, no human power could prevent defeat, though the devoted charge of the Old Guard under Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," will ring forever in the corridors of heroic history. The valiant French army was completely crushed and Napoleon's power forever broken. He afterwards said: "I ought to have died at Waterloo, but the misfortune is that when a man most seeks death, he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind, everywhere, but there was no bullet for me." Throughout his career he seemed to bear what his soldiers called a charmed life. Hero of innumerable battles, he was not destined to die upon the field of honor.

This famous battle stands among the most critical events

of history. It put an abrupt close to the predatory ambition of the French as inspired by Napoleon and restored confidence to the tottering allied powers. The great conqueror, of whom Wellington said: "I would at any time rather hear that a reinforcement of 40,000 men had joined the French army than that Napoleon had arrived to take command," was again forced to abdicate the throne. He determined on a course entirely characteristic of his decisive nature, and placed himself voluntarily in the hands of his greatest enemy, England. He wrote the King of England: "Royal Highness: Exposed to the factions which divide my country and to the hostility of the greatest power of Europe, I have closed my political career. I have come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British Nation. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.—Napoleon."

But his return from Elba was well remembered. His marvelous recuperative power was so feared that he was confined as a prisoner of the English government on the Island of St. Helena by authority of a secret convention signed by Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia.

At his residence, "Longwood," Napoleon spent the remaining five years of his life. There he meditated upon his shattered glories and wrote of them in his "Memoirs." He was under strict guard and not permitted to see his family or friends. In reality the defeated conqueror lived out that admonition to his generals—"Death is nothing. But to live vanquished and without glory, is to die every day."

He died May 5th, 1821. His last request was: "Bury me on the banks of the Seine among the people whom I so much love." The English officials had him buried on the Island of St. Helena, but his remains were later removed to Paris and placed under the Dôme des Invalides.

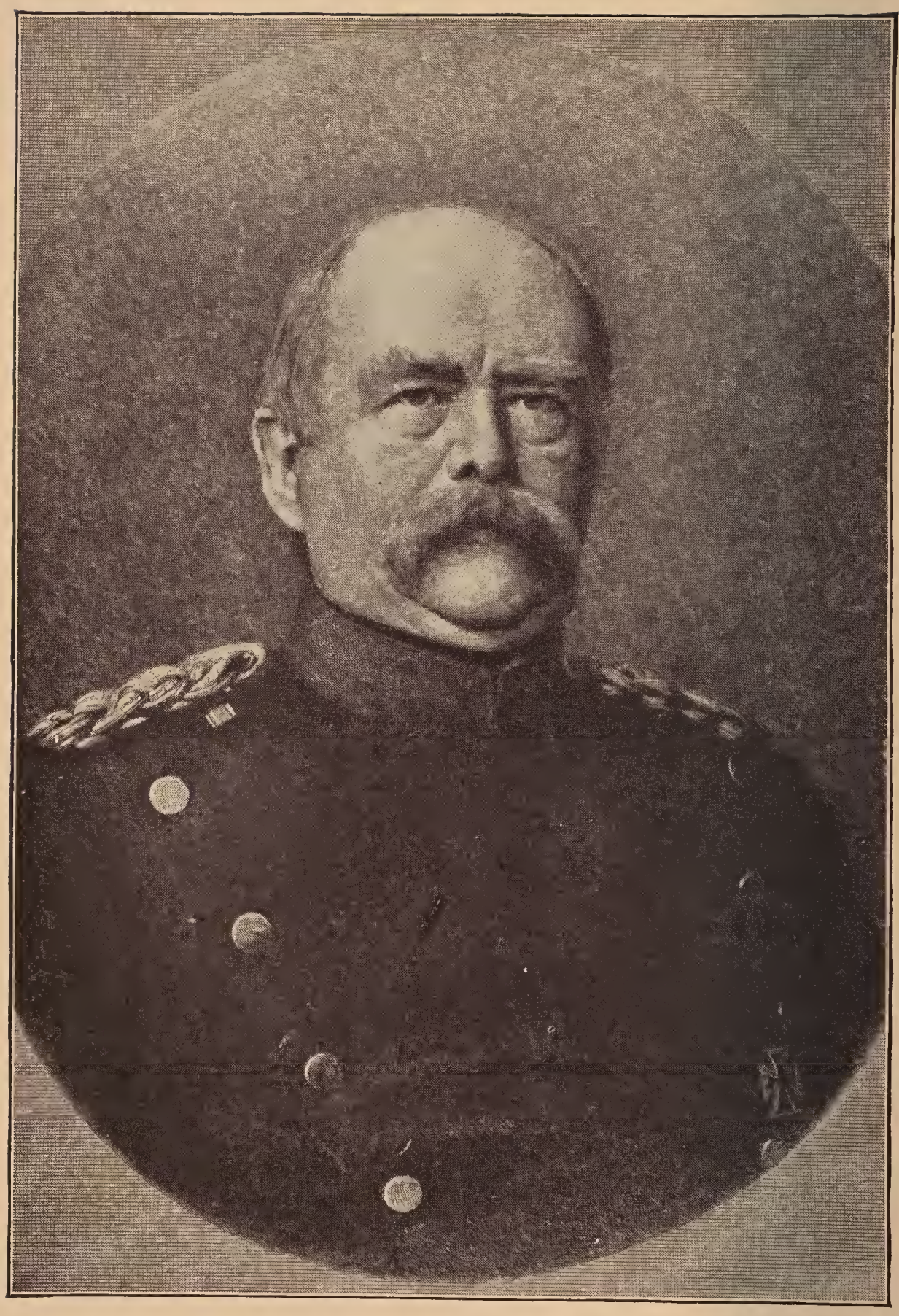
It is manifestly unfair to judge Napoleon from a twentieth century point of view, after the lapse of a century of unprecedented advancement in science, art, literature and democracy. Let us rather judge him by his own people, who, twenty years after his death, brought his body to place it in a magnificent mausoleum "On the banks of the Seine." They brought it reverently, even worshipfully. When it arrived more than a million Frenchmen surged and struggled to catch even a glance of the sarcophagus that contained his precious remains. They erected a monument for his body—the most unique, massive and impressive ever constructed to the memory of man.

Never in the history of France have its people risen in such unanimous accord to do homage to man. They came from every corner of France and waited in line for days to see or to touch the coffin of the man whose personality was the acme of a curious charm and magnetism. Even cynics, beholding their adulation, said: "Something great must have been in this man, something loving and kindly, that has left his name so cherished in the popular memory and gained him such lasting reverence and affection."

The pathetic word "terminus" is not written on the tomb of Napoleon Bonaparte. So long as France lives Napoleon will live. The greatness of his transcendent genius glorifies his life and immortalizes his memory.

The magic of Napoleon's name will never lose its spell over men.

Note.—It is interesting to note the augmented regard of the French nation for Napoleon Bonaparte at the crisis of their existence. When they desired to bestow upon General Pershing the most signal honor possible, they laid in his hand the sword and grand cross cordon of the Legion of Honor, which belonged to Napoleon. They paid him what they considered their highest possible tribute to a soldier by permitting him to touch the sacred relics of their national hero and conqueror. This was the most signal honor France ever bestowed upon any man. Although kings and princes have visited this tomb, no hand had touched these sacred relics since the time of Louis Philippe.



OTTO VON BISMARCK

BISMARCK

THE ACHIEVER OF GERMAN UNITY

1815-1898

FOR generations Germany consisted of over two hundred disorganized and conflicting states, principalities and independent cities. Frederick the Great of Prussia had made of his kingdom the cornerstone upon which Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck, also a Prussian, was to build the German Empire. Frederick was the hero of the German people and their model in generalship. Bismarck was to become the high-priest of German statesmen and their model in statecraft. It was he who first realized that so long as disunion existed the political divisions of Germany would continue to be mere pawns on the chessboard of European politics and diplomacy. It became the ambition and the dream of his life to consolidate the various branches of the German people and mould them into a unified nation.

He was born April first, 1815, the year in which Napoleon's last army was annihilated at Waterloo and in which the Congress of Vienna met to reconstruct the governments of Europe. Chief among the tasks of this body of eminent statesmen was the reorganization of Germany, which had been more or less held together by the loose Confederation of the Rhine, composed of Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria and Würtemberg—together with thirty-three smaller kingdoms, principalities and free towns. The largest state inhabited wholly by Teutons was the kingdom of Prussia, ruled by Frederick William III. Austria, which was one of the largest and most populous

monarchies of Europe, headed the confederation under the chancellorship of the great statesman, Metternich, who presided at the Congress of Vienna. Although the Emperor of Austria ruled twenty million Teutons, his dominion included equally as many inhabitants of Italian, Slavonic and Hungarian provinces. Austria could never have consolidated the German people. Although the career of Napoleon had taught the necessity for a common defense, any common government for this conglomeration of small states controlled by heterogeneous Austria was impossible; nor was a common government brought about until more than half a century later, when in 1870 Bismarck and Moltke led the Prussian army into Paris.

Bismarck grew to manhood surrounded by the memories of desolation wrought upon his country by Napoleon's armies. Throughout his life he was destined to reckon with France, for as he himself said: "Mercurial France was the thermometer that marked the height of the revolutionary heat in phlegmatic Prussia." Scarcely had the influences of Napoleon begun to fade when new rumblings were heard in the direction of France. The long-slumbering revolution broke at Paris in 1830. Louis XVIII, who wore the French crown, that he considered "the gift of God," refused to accept it as the gift of the French nation and was dethroned. The Bourbons were thus unseated and Louis Philippe, the "Citizen King," ascended the throne by popular election, powerfully aided by Marquis Lafayette, the friend of American freedom. Louis Philippe reigned as king, not of France, but of the French.

The news of the revolution struck Germany like an inundation and produced a remarkable effect upon young Bismarck. His natural impulses inclined him toward democracy, but the impression this created upon his mind did not cause him to espouse radical reform, but bred in

him contempt for such liberal movements. He witnessed the wild demonstration of joy with which the masses in Prussia greeted all revolutionary news from Paris. But revolutions were anarchy in his estimation.

That "see-saw from revolution to reaction and from reaction to revolution," which was permeating the world was in direct contrast to Bismarck's belief that evolution could only rise to its height through sober judgment and right reason. As he grew older, two decided convictions grew out of his peculiar patriotism. The first was his dislike of foreign influence; the second, his belief in the divine right of kings. Bismarck was not prone to admire men of other nations. He was a whole-souled Prussian, intolerant of his compatriots who habitually eulogized the achievements and policies of France and England. He had little patience with George K. Nineke, a strong liberal, who constantly paraded Hampden and Pym as patterns worthy of imitation and urged that the Prussian people obtain power by means of a "Petition of Rights" and a "Bill of Rights." Bismarck believed that the problems of Prussia rose out of a peculiar set of conditions, which demanded that they be settled by Prussian statesmen along Prussian lines.

Early in his career he spoke of the Christian state in a way which clearly showed his belief in the divine right of kings. He wrote:

"It is as old as every European state; it is the ground in which they have taken root; no state has a secure existence unless it has a religious foundation. For me, the words, 'by the Grace of God,' which Christian rulers add to their names, is no empty phrase; I see in them a confession that the princes desire to wield the sceptre which God has given them according to the will of God on earth. As the will of God I can only recognize that which has been revealed in the Christian Gospel—I believe that the realization of Christian teaching is the end of the state."

It is only by a consideration of this conviction that we may understand Bismarck's policies, and know how he was enabled conscientiously to disregard popular clamor in the years that followed.

The old Prussian King, Frederick William III, died in 1840. He had been a member of the Congress of Vienna and had been persuaded by Metternich to help force through a series of measures for the restriction of the liberty of the press, for the control of the universities—those hot-beds of liberalism—and for the suppression of democratic opinion.

His son, Frederick William IV, although a man of many gifts, was scarcely more liberal when in 1847 he summoned for the first time a United Diet at Berlin. It was the first parliament representing the whole of Prussia and the king expected nothing but homage from the assembled representatives. The young and unknown Bismarck, who sat as a substitute in this parliament, listened to the king with unlimited approval. When he distinguished himself as a loyalist in opposition to the aggressive liberal faction, the king discovered that he had a new friend in this young enthusiast so ready to devote his life to public duties. The king was to have great need of this friendship in the stormy times to come.

In 1848 came another startling and futile French revolution, which dethroned the house of Orleans. Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate the throne and France set up a republic. In the south of Germany disorder registered sympathy with France and the excitement spread like wild fire until it involved the whole country. The Diet at Berlin, after its three months of ineffectual bickering and disputes, was dismissed. The Prussian Liberals, who had been watching England and France, had demanded a written constitution. The king had declared

with solemn emphasis that he would never permit a sheet of paper to come between him and God in Heaven. But now, after a fierce battle between the people and the soldiers, the king was virtually made a prisoner in his own castle, was forced to swallow his medieval pride and promise a constitution.

Bismarck felt keenly that outrage and humiliation had been visited upon his sovereign by the people. He had met the king personally while on his wedding journey in Venice, and discussed freely with him the political problems of Prussia. He wrote the unhappy monarch a letter which was treasured and read every day for months. Eventually Frederick William IV was forced to call a second United Diet, which sat for six months ineffectually squabbling and quarreling. Bismarck sat as a substitute member, although not in sympathy with its purpose. He tacitly accepted the principle of constitutional government only in the hope that the new power would be an instrument in the hands of the monarch to restrain popular agitation and to maintain order. Doctor Lord wrote of him:

"I need not enumerate the subjects that came up for discussion in the new Prussian parliament, in which Bismarck exhibited with more force than eloquence his loyalty to the crown. His conservatism was branded by the liberals as medieval. But his originality, his humor, his biting sarcasm, his fertility of resources, his knowledge of men and affairs and his devoted patriotism marked him out for promotion."

In 1848 the Federal German Diet met at Frankfort-on-Main. It was in reality a national parliament representing the entire German people. In spite of the fact that it was composed of high-minded and intelligently thoughtful men, it proved utterly impotent. When finally the parliament chose Frederick William IV of Prussia as

German Emperor, the monarch was influenced by Bismarck to refuse an honor which the people had no right to confer. The refusal agitated the socialists to open rebellion and the Diet degenerated into a mere diplomatic conference dominated and weakened by intrigue and jealousy. The Prussian and Austrian factions seldom agreed. Indeed, Bismarck thought it advantageous to Prussia to promote rivalry between them. Not until 1851 was the parliament revived. Bismarck was sent to represent Prussia.

Although in these early years of his career, Bismarck appeared as a bigoted, fanatical man, these outward qualities only obscured the full glow of his final greatness. Brusque in manner, he had surpassing confidence in himself and said of his polished fellow diplomats:

"Nothing but miserable trifles do these people trouble themselves about. The men of the minor states are mostly mere caricatures of periwig diplomatists, who at once put on their official visage if I merely beg of them a light to my cigar."

His memory seeemd infallible in all details of state during those years of growth, due largely to his voracious reading and study of statecraft. Nothing escaped his watchful eye. He showed that he was an ultra royalist by reporting every detail to Berlin and by recommending new restrictions on the press and universities. His object was to prevent revolutions. He had little love for Germany outside of Prussia; to him Würtemberg and Bavaria were foreign states; Austria, whose principles he had formally upheld, became a foe, whose designs must be contravened for the glory of Prussia.

At the age of thirty-six, Bismarck, a more or less impoverished country squire, was swaying the German parliament with his lightning repartee, his whimsical humor and his dynamic personality.

On January second, 1861, Frederick William IV died and was succeeded by his brother, the Prince Regent William I, grandfather of Kaiser William II. The new king was not only a soldier, but a patriotic ruler of common sense and force. Summoning Bismarck to Berlin, he invested him with the powerful office of President of the Ministry. Their first move was to double the army. Bismarck not only foresaw war with Austria, but also the future preponderance of Prussia. He realized that Austria must be thrust out of the Germanic body. The ruling passion of his life was to raise Prussia to the power to which Metternich had raised Austria. The king was in full accord with this ambition. Even the horror of the present war does not blind us to the fact that Bismarck's vision has been so truly realized.

Bismarck was reckless as to the means of success. When parliament, in accordance with the popular demand, refused to vote supplies for the larger army, he dissolved it, admitting that he was acting unconstitutionally, but maintaining that his only purpose was to serve the country. Although misunderstood by the masses of the people, and bitterly attacked by the press, he was unshaken. Prussia, in the meantime, under his guidance, was leaping forward in commerce; the railroads had rejuvenated internal industry; traffic on the rivers had increased; foreign trade was growing; education was becoming a universal passion; general advancement was everywhere accelerated, except in matters political. Here Bismarck and the king believed that conservatism was indispensable to the welfare of the Fatherland.

The cohesive power which was to hold the German Empire together was embodied in Bismarck's principle of "blood and iron," which made him known as the "Iron Chancellor." He made full use of the superb Prussian military organization. Universal military training in Ger-

many had been originated by Frederick William I one hundred years before. It was employed by Frederick the Great in his numerous wars, but was afterwards permitted to fall into temporary disuse. The system was revived and perfected by a group of men who came on the scene of action at the time Napoleon conquered Prussia. The most prominent of this group were Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Roon, who reorganized and finally established the Prussian military system which had not been changed in any essential respect. The military system which Bismarck fostered and developed was merely an instrument in his hand for realizing his dream of a unified nation.

Bismarck had traveled extensively in England and Italy and had been Ambassador to Austria, Russia and France. He had met and conversed with the leading men of Europe. Fortunately for Prussia, no one then living so exactly understood the political world status as he. A diplomatic crisis now threatened and for a time public thought was diverted from internal matters to the more serious questions of foreign policy. In 1863, when Poland revolted against Russia, England, France and Austria remonstrated with the Czar on behalf of the Poles. Prussian public sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of Polish independence. Bismarck, however, realized "that an independent Poland would be the irreconcilable enemy of Prussia and that the Polish question was to them a question of life and death." William I wrote an autograph letter to the Czar of Russia proposing that the two countries stand together. This step aroused unbounded popular indignation, but it retained the favor of the Czar which Bismarck had so cleverly gained by refusing to join Austria and the western allies during the Crimean war. He succeeded in making his people understand that Prussia would cease to exist if Polish nationality and Russian pol-

icy ever predominated. By this move he gained the Czar's gratitude, which alone made his subsequent projects feasible.

An extract from a letter which he wrote to Motley, the historian, one of Bismarck's many American friends, reveals the bitterness of his contention with parliament at this time:

"I am obliged to listen to particularly tasteless speeches out of the mouths of uncommonly childish and excited politicians. I never thought that in my riper years, I should be obliged to carry on such an unworthy trade as that of Parliamentary Minister. I have come down in the world and hardly know how. * * * I sit and hear nonsense. All these people have agreed to approve our treaty with Belgium, in spite of which twenty speakers scold each other vehemently. They are not agreed about the motives which made them unanimous, hence, alas! a regular German squabble about the Emperor's beard. You Anglo-Saxon Yankees have something of the same kind also. * * * Your battles are bloody; ours wordy."

The time was now approaching when the policies of Bismarck and William I were to receive the universal support of the people. The ultimate triumph was the success of the army under the great general, Von Moltke. Bismarck, who had been denounced as a Catiline, a Strafford, a Poligna, was to be honored as the man who had made Prussia one of the powerful nations of the world.

When the King of Denmark, who was also Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, died in 1863, Austria and Prussia at once joined in a prodigious scheme to acquire for themselves the two duchies, which had been so long contested. An Austro-Prussian army invaded Schleswig-Holstein and forced Denmark to give them up. England was particularly outraged and offered indignant protest. Even the Prussian Chamber refused to grant money for the

enterprise, and boldly declared the transaction null and void. Immediately Bismarck dissolved it and cooly informed his opponents that the Chamber had nothing to do with politics. In the division of the conquered territory, an endless succession of disputes arose between Austria and Prussia. There was no way of settling the complex difficulties except by war.

Bismarck hoped and believed that war would bring German unity by exalting Prussia and expelling Austria from the confederation. Although his idea was bitterly opposed by the populace and the entire royal family, it was shortly vindicated.

It was during these days of struggle and frantic denouncement that one of the incidents occurred so typical of Bismarck's venturesome courage and indomitable spirit. It was in Berlin on May seventh, 1866, while walking along Unter den Linden that he was fired upon at close quarters by a young Jewish revolutionist. Bismarck, although unarmed, rushed upon his assailant, but did not succeed in overpowering him until five shots had been fired—burning his clothes and even drawing blood. He delivered his assailant over to the police and joined his family at dinner with an unbelievable self-possession.

The war began on a prodigious scale with Austria and the greater states on one side against Prussia, leagued with various minor states. Four great Prussian armies set forth, and within seven weeks Saxony, Hesse, Nassau, Frankfort-on-Main, Bavaria and Würtemberg were brought to humble terms. Three of the armies pushed against Austria until they finally met at Sodowa and gained overwhelming victory of Königgratz. Two mighty factors decided the contest—Count von Moltke, the greatest strategist since Napoleon, and the Prussian breech-loading needle gun. It was with great difficulty that the elated Prussians were dissuaded from marching on to

Vienna. Bismarck with keen foresight realized the danger of incurring Austria's enmity, for he saw a great war with France coming in the near future. At least he stood so firmly for "never making your enemy so angry that he cannot get over it" that he again successfully resorted to the threat he so often and effectively practised—resignation.

The Prussian people were frantic with joy over the victory—a victory which dazed the world.

Instantly the hated Bismarck became a national idol. His marvelous diplomacy, firm patience and unswerving purpose were universally acknowledged.

The triumphal return of the Prussian troops from the glorious field of Königgratz was followed at once by the opening of the first Parliament of the North German Confederation. The parliament was composed of an upper council to represent the political division of North Germany, and a lower house to represent the people, chosen by universal suffrage.

The Confederation was under the presidency of the king, who was commander-in-chief of the united armies. Thus Bismarck, the royalist, the devotee of the monarchical system unconsciously became the most dynamic factor in giving his country a semblance of democratic government.

Meantime secret treaties of alliance were concluded with the states of South Germany in order to checkmate the intrigues of Napoleon III. The Austrian chagrin and French wrath thereby provoked were precisely what the great Prussian arch-diplomat wanted. Bismarck sought to drive into frenzy the vain-glorious rulers of the French. After the battle of Königgratz, he had inveigled Napoleon into sending to Berlin the draft of a treaty for the annexation of the Bavarian Palatinate to France.

Both Napoleon and Bismarck secretly desired the war

and prepared with all energy for it. Ostensibly in order to promote "peace," Bismarck and Moltke had visited the exposition at Paris. Napoleon, surrounded by a flattering court, was certain that his preparation for the impending conflict was complete. Although the Prussian army had vanquished the Austrians at the Battle of Königgratz, yet the French had also defeated them at Solferine. Prussia had conquered with her newly invented breech-loading needle gun; but France had secretly armed her soldiers with that terrible engine of war, the breech-loading Chassepot gun.

"Nothing was now wanting but the spark to kindle the conflagration; and this was applied by the nomination of a German prince to the vacant throne of Spain. The Prussian king gave way in the matter of Prince Leopold, but refused further concessions. Leopold was sufficiently magnanimous to withdraw his claims, and here French interference should have ended. But France demanded guarantees that no further candidates should be proposed without her consent. Of course, the Prussian king—seeing with the keen eyes of Bismarck, and armed to the teeth under the supervision of Moltke, the greatest general of the age, who could direct, with the precision of a steam engine on a track, the movements of the Prussian army, itself a mechanism—treated with disdain this imperious demand from a power which he knew to be inferior to his own. Count Bismarck craftily lured on his prey, who was already goaded forward by his home war party, with the Empress at their head; negotiations ceased and Napoleon III made his fatal declaration of hostilities, to the grief of the few statesmen who foresaw the end."

On July nineteenth, 1870, the French declaration of war became known in Berlin. Bismarck, at this strategic moment, brought to the press those previous proposals of France to annex territories belonging to the Netherlands,

Belgium, and Bavaria. It was this documentary evidence of Napoleon's perfidy which worked such a transformation in the attitude of southern Germany toward Prussia and set France in the wrong before the world. It completed another link in the chain which the great chancellor was forging for the ultimate unity of the German empire. It brought the forces of the German army up to a million men and this mighty machine was perfect in construction, distribution and co-operation.

In September, 1870, Napoleon III marched with an enthusiastic army straight to the fatal field of Sedan, where the entire French force became prisoners of war, including the Emperor himself. The triumphant Germans marched on Paris and besieged the city. Meantime German victories continued and the French Republic was proclaimed. Bismarck established himself at Versailles and accomplished prodigious work—ending in a peace with Thiers and Favre—the representatives of the French Republic. In a position to dictate almost any terms, he exacted from France Alsace and Lorraine [provinces originally taken from Germany in 1648 by Louis XIV] in addition to the huge indemnity of five thousand million francs. Surrounding the picturesque Place de la Concorde in Paris are statues representing the cities of France. On festival days when flowers decorate the other statues, that of Strassburg, the capital of Alsace-Lorraine, is draped in mourning. It is the dream of France to tear away those black memories and replace them with wreaths of victory. The ambition to regain these surrendered provinces was one of the rootlets of the World War. It has been said that not Nietzsche nor Treitschke nor Bernhardi, but the successes of 1870 were responsible for the world tragedy.

When Von Moltke advised Bismarck not to take Alsace-Lorraine because it would be a source of future contention he little realized the truth of this prophetic vision.

Bismarck now reached the climax of his career. King William I of Prussia was crowned German Emperor in the historic hall of Louis XIV in the palace of Versailles. The Teutonic race was finally united under one monarch and one flag. Honors and added responsibilities were showered upon the man who had wrought one nation out of thirty-nine and who had set up a government destined to be a vigorous, quickened model of economic efficiency—who had built up an army which was amazing the world with almost daily victories.

While the excesses of Prussian militarism have brought down upon Germany the condemnation of the world, yet recognition must be given to the important role played by the German people in the development of modern civilization. Along with Greek Art, Roman Law, English Constitutional Government and American Democracy, German Efficiency is one of the great heritages of mankind.

Although Bismarck's greatest work was done, there were treaties to be made and a constitution to be adopted. These were drafted under his personal direction. Parliament now represented twenty-five states. It was divided as before into the Bundesrath, or Imperial Council, and the Reichstag, or Imperial Diet. As Chancellor, Bismarck was the only minister of the empire. He was given the title of Prince and a magnificent estate. In the very prime of life, Bismarck held a self-made position in Europe rarely equalled. For almost twenty years he continued to direct the affairs of the nation.

He made political pilgrimages to many capitals. Friendly relations increased steadily with Italy, Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain—even with Austria. After the year of struggle between Russia and Turkey, which had ended in the Treaty of San Stefano—so fatal to Turkey, and bringing England to daggers' points with Prussia,

Bismarck called a conference in Berlin (June, 1878). As President, he sat at the head of this body of eminent statesmen, the most important conference held in Europe since the Congress of Vienna had met to close the Napoleonic wars. In spite of the German Chancellor's former friendship for Russia, an ill-feeling had been recently brewing between the two countries which came to a climax in the Berlin conference. "All possible concessions were made to Turkey and Great Britain, and although Bismarck had done all possible for Russia consistent with the interest of Europe," he failed to satisfy the Russian government. The denunciations heaped upon him only clarified his vision of the future dangers for Germany. He forthwith made a dual alliance with Austria in which "Prussia and Austria were to stand together in any attack by Russia and France." Very shortly France aroused the bitterness of Italy by taking Tunis—so long coveted by the Italians. Bismarck seized the opportunity to form the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy against France and Russia. He thereby hoped for that final peace of which he said:

"The long and short of it is that we must be as strong as we possibly can be in these days. We lie in the midst of Europe. We have at least three sides open to attack. God has placed on one side of us the French—a most warlike and restless nation—and He has allowed the fighting tendencies of Russia to become great; so we are forced into measures, which, perhaps, we would not otherwise make. And the very strength for which we strive shows that we are inclined to peace, for with such a powerful machine as we wish to make the German army, no one would undertake to attack us. We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world, and it is the fear of God which causes us to love and cherish peace."

Nor was the scope of Bismarck's statesmanship con-

fined to Germany alone. The affairs of all Europe centered in him. He was the "prophet of the new epoch." His insight was so deep and his foresight so vast that he stood strong and alone in his greatness. His advice was sought by the renowned statesman Gladstone, who, moreover, was little loved by Bismarck. His favorite English portrait was one of Disraeli. "The old Jew," he often said, "he is a man."

Bismarck had spent great energy in enlarging the German navy and he kept it in constant effective action—collecting debts in South America and China, protecting Christians in Syria, keeping peace in Greek waters, destroying slave trade in Africa, protecting the wide-spreading and increasing German colonies. He gave much time in solving domestic and political reforms and ecclesiastical disputes. When his attempt to secure all the railways for the government failed, he compromised by bringing them all under an imperial control which was most advantageous to the state. He found new sources of imperial revenue in indirect taxation. He adopted a new imperial coinage—as sadly needed as was our new financial system after the civil war.

In direct contradiction to his old theory of "the government being everything, the individual nothing," he brought about the most daring socialistic reform ever adopted by a modern nation—compulsory state insurance for workingmen against accident, illness and old age. It is known as "Workmen's Compensation," and has been adopted in the United States and other countries.

Although his health was greatly undermined by excessive work, he carried on an active war against free trade with the eminent political economists of his day.

His capacity for work was colossal, and yet his modesty and careful suppression of compliments to himself, either written or spoken, is not found to such extent in

any other great man, save Abraham Lincoln. Never in his life did Bismarck sacrifice his ideals or the interests of Prussia to the fear of public disapproval or a desire to be applauded in the court and the theatres. Each year of his life was fertile with service to his country.

In 1888, at the death of his devoted friend and Emperor, William I, Bismarck was the power behind the throne of Germany. But the new Emperor, Frederick III, was generally known to be in opposition to the Chancellor's policies. His wife was the daughter of the British Queen, and he himself had spent much of his life in England. "But in spite of his preferences for English constitutional monarchy over German absolutism," the noble Frederick had unlimited respect and admiration for Bismarck. Perhaps because of this, perhaps because of the knowledge of how soon disease was to cut short his life and rule, the Emperor retained the Chancellor in power.

After ninety-nine days, Frederick died, and was succeeded by Emperor William II, who had undergone the most stringent military, naval, university and political discipline. He loved the old Chancellor, and it was generally hoped and understood that the Bismarckian era would continue. But William II soon showed that his imperial will was not prone to move in the old grooves as represented by Bismarck. Their differences rapidly led to a dispute—in itself a mere technicality—which caused the Emperor to demand a resignation, taking effect March twentieth, 1890.

It were better not to dwell upon the following eight years of the great statesman's life. Although the Emperor bore no personal grudge and issued eloquent tribute to Bismarck's services, conferring on him the great Dukedom of Launburg, the Chancellor showed a pitiful reluctance to retire to that private life for which he had

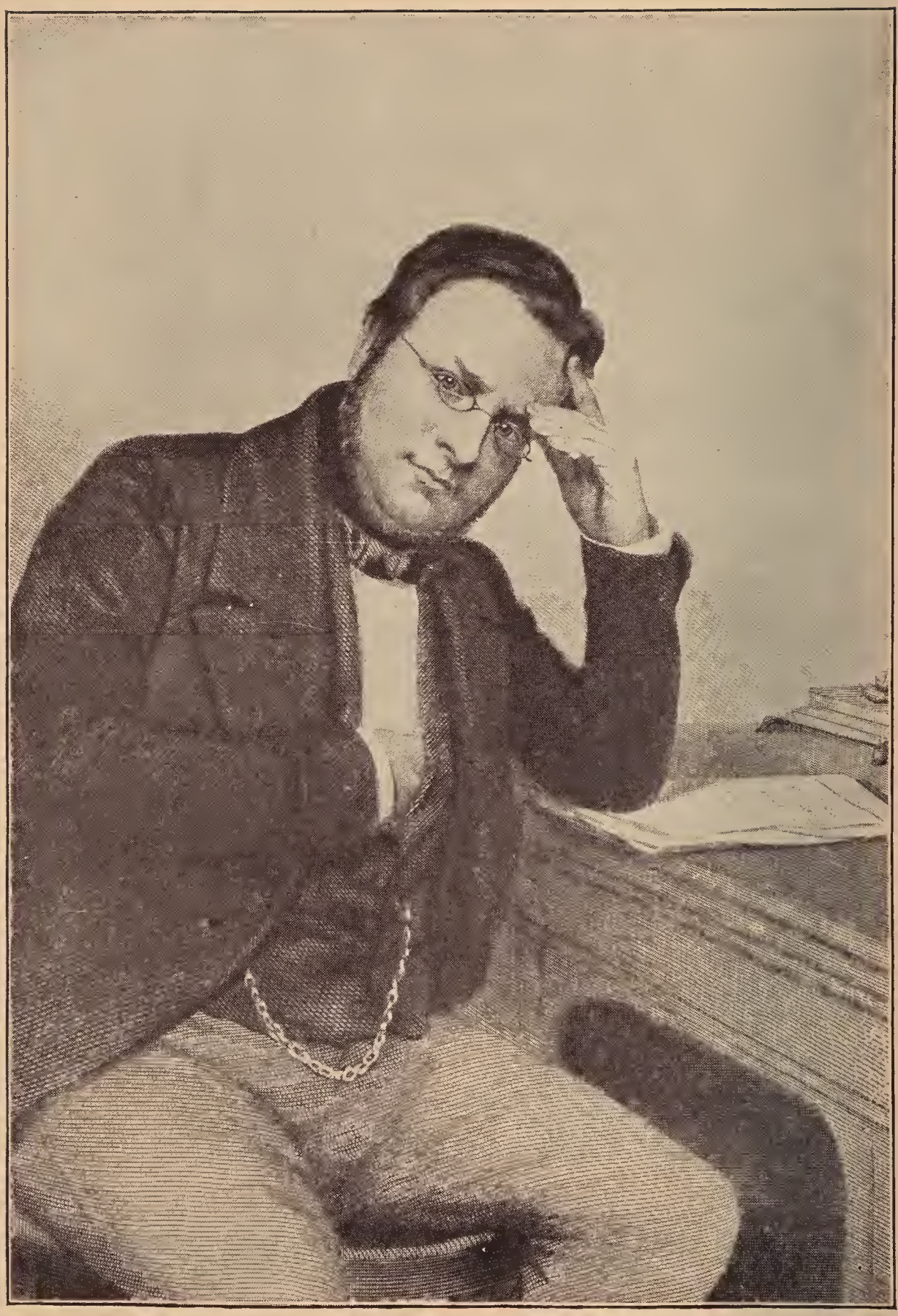
so often longed. The outburst of national resentment which the Emperor's action had caused did not reconcile him to loss of power. He criticized the government as ruthlessly as he had formerly led it wisely. But pity is due to the heart-broken old man, who knew so well the height of European glory and mourned so naturally the loss of it.

At his death, in 1898, all Germany rose to do him homage. A national monument was erected to him in front of the Imperial Parliament House at Berlin. Bismarck stands out as the establisher of German's nationality and as one of the greatest European statesmen. History will include him among the great founders of empires. Yet, notwithstanding his wisdom and achievements, there were grave defects in his statecraft and diplomacy.

Napoleon's ruling passion was super-self-aggrandizement at the sacrifice of his country's best welfare; Bismarck's ruling passion was the super-aggrandizement of his country at the sacrifice of the world's best welfare. His patriotism was so intensely centered on Prussia that he was led at times to violate the high standards of international usage which control the intercourse between nations.

His policies and personality brought Germany to the highest pinnacle as a world power. The exaggeration of these policies which dominated the reign of William II brought the German Empire today face to face with a hostile world.

In power of comprehending divers currents of diplomatic movements, no man has been superior to Bismarck. He is a titanic figure in the patriotic world.



CAMILLO BENSO CAVOUR

CAVOUR

ITALY'S CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN

1810-1861

ITALY, at the opening of the nineteenth century, was merely a collection of petty and despotic kingdoms, subject to conquest and the alternate prey of powerful, conscienceless neighbors. Her own people were ground under the heel of a luxurious aristocracy. For more than a thousand years she had been trodden down by foreign rule. Germans, Saracens, Frenchmen and Spaniards had in turn devastated and tyrannized her. She had also been divided by feuds between numerous bigoted tyrants within her own country. The people groveled beneath a surge of cruelty and ignorance. On the surface, Italy was frivolous and happy; she outwardly possessed that "fatal gift of beauty" which attracted pleasure seekers from the world over, but to the great masses it seemed as if the patriotic utterances of Dante and Michael Angelo had never been.

When at St. Helena, Napoleon wrote, "Italy is destined to form a great nation; unity of language, customs and literature must, within a period more or less distant, unite her inhabitants under one sole government."

Although Napoleon had invigorated Italy in many ways, he had not fulfilled those promises of "liberty, fraternity, prosperity and glory" for the Italian people. At his downfall they were left in a pitiable state. At the Congress of Vienna, held by the principal powers of Europe in 1814, the vassals of Austria were restored to the thrones of the Italian peninsula, thus re-establishing Austrian predominance in Italy. The Austrian Emperor,

Francis, announced that he required the universities to turn out not enlightened scholars, but obedient servants and subjects. His minister, Metternich, expressed the Austrian contempt for Italian independence when he said that Italy was simply a "geographical expression." In reality, Italy was composed of the following duchies and kingdoms: Lombardy and Venetia, Austrian provinces, in the extreme north; Piedmont, belonging to the House of Savoy, to the northwest; Tuscany, under a branch of the Hapsburgs, further south; Parma, Lucca and Modena, under Austrian despots; the states of the Church, under the Pope, occupying central Italy; the kingdom of Naples, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, under the Bourbons, in the extreme south.

During the French Revolution there had grown up in this historic peninsula a great body of thoughtful and patriotic men and women—truly Italian in spite of Austrian control. They looked with great expectancy to the results of the revolution—that great upheaval which was preparing them for reconstruction and a unified political existence, and their ideas were communicated to the rising generation.

From 1815 to 1831 the entire country was saturated with a spirit of socialism and revolution. Secret societies were formed to gain ends which were openly prohibited. Chief among them was the Carbonari, a powerful organization that originated in Naples, which drew not only professional and military men, but even a few nobles into her ranks. Their motto was "Independence, a sound liberal government, and the confederation of the Italian States."

The Carbonari was followed by the association of "Young Italy," fostered under the guidance of Giuseppe M. Mazzini—a brilliant young patriot, who had identified himself with the Carbonari. Their aim was to make

of Italy a free and independent republic. They published a periodical called "Young Italy" (1832), but their efforts were quickly discovered and punished by wholesale death sentences.

But the fundamental ideals of these great movements toward democracy and unification were to be forwarded in a more effective and powerful way by the judicious statesmanship of Count Camille Bensi di Cavour.

Cavour was a man whose burning patriotism was of such unpretentiousness and modesty that keen discrimination is indispensable to a thorough understanding of his high place in history. Cavour was the real cause of Italy's rise to a free, invigorated, united nation.

Italy's roll of ancient and modern heroes is a notable one, but for disinterested patriotism and sound statesmanship, Cavour outranks them all.

Cavour was born in Turin, the capital of the kingdom of Sardinia, on August tenth, 1810, when Sardinia was under Napoleonic supremacy. He was descended from a noble family of ancient and honorable standing in that section of the peninsula. He especially exerted himself to rise above the handicap of being a second son, which greatly limited his rights and fortune. The principal avenues open to advancement were those of the army and the Church, and at the age of ten he entered the military academy at Turin. He was appointed a page at the court of Sardinia, but he was so little adapted to court etiquette, which he heartily disliked, that he was soon discharged from the position, "highly elated," as he expressed it, "in having thrown off his pack saddle."

At school he was especially proficient in the study of mathematics, languages and history. He had a practical mind, and cared more for political economy and social science than for art or romance. He graduated at the head of his class, and at sixteen entered the army as a lieutenant of engineers.

As an engineer, Cavour was employed in many important surveys and fortifications. But he brooded continuously over the degraded condition of Italy. While working in Genoa, it was reported to the court that the young officer had expressed himself too freely on political affairs, and he was ordered to the lonely Alpine fortress of Bard for one year. At the end of the year he resigned his commission in the army, much to the chagrin of his family and to the satisfaction of the newly crowned Charles Albert, who considered him a young man with "too liberal views." His character was no more fitted to the passive submission required by military discipline than it was to the position as court page.

With great interest and energy he undertook the management of his father's estate at Leri, in Piedmont. He soon mastered the science of farming and became a leader in introducing new and progressive methods of agriculture. Such love of nature and of the soil is evident in the characters of many other statesmen. Not only Cavour, but Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Bismarck and many others spent parts of their lives actively engaged in farming.

When twenty-four years old, at a time when the prospects of Italy inspired but little hope, Cavour wrote to a friend: "I am a very, an enormously ambitious man, and when I am Minister I shall justify my ambition; for, I tell you, in my dreams I already see myself Minister of the Kingdom of Italy." The visions of a young man typify his greatness more exactly than his achievements. With this intuitive conviction that he was destined to play an important part in the future of his country, Cavour began to prepare himself for that day, just as his American contemporary, Abraham Lincoln, was preparing himself to become President of the United States.

Cavour spent the following seventeen years in prodig-

ious activities. He studied political science and political economy, collecting books and reports from England and France. He traveled extensively over the Italian peninsula, and went to Switzerland, France and England to familiarize himself with political and social conditions. He studied in the Sorbonne at Paris and met with the foremost philosophers and statesmen of the age. The democratic monarchy of England was always his ideal form of government, and he was an enthusiastic admirer of Anglo-Saxon liberty. He studied the English Constitution thoroughly and drew from it those broad principles which characterize the Anglo-Saxon system of government, both in republican and monarchical form. He formed friendships which were to broaden and influence his entire life—those friendships so often neglected by men who most need them.

In 1842, on returning to Leri, he devoted his time to improving his estates, to political research and to writing. This vast knowledge of the world, political and commercial which he had sought unceasingly, formed the basis for that constructive genius which was to crystallize in the unity of the Italian peninsula.

In 1847, Italy awakened to the consciousness of a new life. Sixteen years before this, Mazzini had appeared with a burning enthusiasm for liberty, desiring to cast aside every vestige of monarchical institutions and subordinate all issues to that of establishing a republican form of government. Cavour, however, realized the impracticability of this plan when adapted to conditions then prevailing in Italy. His vision was to emancipate the country from foreign domination and to establish a nationality through the existing monarchy, renovated by constitutional liberty. And now that the censorship of the press was somewhat relaxed, Cavour established and became the chief editor of a daily newspaper, called "Il

Risorgimento"—The Resurrection. This paper, advocating independence for Italy, union between the various Princes and the people, progressive reform and a Confederation of the Italian States, exerted a great influence on the course of events.

The following year Cavour concentrated his efforts toward procuring from King Charles Albert a constitution for Piedmont—a kingdom superior to any other in Italy. At this time the move was considered revolutionary, and such audacious demands aroused the revolutionary world. Europe heard of Cavour; he had been praised as a master by thinkers and economists of Italy, but he was now universally recognized as a statesman who hated despotism and who advocated open discussion rather than the conspiracy which was then so prevalent throughout Italy.

When the statute was granted, March fourth, 1848, it became a rallying point for all the advocates of Italian liberty and unity. It is still the foundation of the constitution of the Italian kingdom. Cavour was showing the first signs of leadership which proved so valuable to his country.

In that same year the first Piedmontese Parliament was opened, and Cavour sat in it as a deputy of his native city, Turin. In his maiden speech he urged the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Holy Alliance, represented by Austria. He realized the importance of throwing off foreign oppression. The occasion was peculiarly favorable. An insurrection had risen in Vienna on February twenty-fourth from the news that Louis Philippe, of France, had been dethroned. Rumors came to Italy that the insurrection had caused the fall of Metternich. Venice rose against the Austrians, and proclaimed a republic. Milan was equally successful in driving out her oppressors, and public opinion, influenced largely by "Il Risorgimento," soon forced Charles Albert

to declare war on Austria. This unhappy king was a better ruler than soldier, and had been warned both by England and Russia against such a war. Although he won a victory at Goito, May thirtieth, 1848, he was deserted by his allies, the Pope and the King of Naples, and was forced by defeat to retreat. The war finally ended in the fatal battle at Navara (March twenty-third, 1849). Charles Albert abdicated the throne of Sardinia and retired in exile. He was succeeded by his son, Victor Emmanuel, a born leader, who swore allegiance to the Constitution and won for himself the title of "The Honest King" by a life of devotion to Italian liberty.

Cavour retired to his farm at Leri, but was recalled to his old seat in Victor Emmanuel's second parliament. It was now for the first time that he made his real power felt in the chamber. It is difficult to realize the undeveloped and chaotic condition of Italy at this time. There was hardly a mile of railroad south of Genoa, while northern Europe enjoyed an extensive railway system. At least fifty per cent. of the inhabitants could neither read nor write, and higher education was reduced to a minimum. Italy was separated into many petty despotic principalities.

Cavour made a speech in Parliament proposing to abolish the special jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and stating that Piedmont, by preserving in her reform policy, would be "gathering to herself all the living forces in Italy, and would be in a position to lead the mother country to those high destinies whereunto she is called." The speech set forth an aggressive national policy for Italy and brought Cavour into even greater prominence. He was made Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and gave up his work as a journalist to devote his entire time to statecraft.

In the cabinet he negotiated favorable trade treaties

with France, Belgium, and England. He was shortly given the additional appointment of Minister of the Marine, and rapidly won his way to leadership in Parliament. Within the year he was promoted to the office of Minister of Finance, and became the dominating force in the Ministry. He established factories, railways, steamship lines, and accomplished remarkable feats of political and commercial progress.

The great statesman now made an alliance with Rattazzi, the leader of the moderate liberals, to unite the two parties in support of the Ministry against the opposition. Cavour proposed to foster the new Italy through this union of the moderate parties, but the compact was discountenanced by D'Azeglio, then the head of the Ministry. This instantly led to a rupture in the Cabinet. Cavour resigned his offices and went to France and England to ascertain how his compact had been received by those two countries, to whom he was looking for assistance in overthrowing Austria's power in the Italian peninsula. He was greatly encouraged by his reception, especially in France, to which he particularly looked for aid against the Austrians.

Upon his return to Piedmont another ministerial crisis occurred. Cavour was reinstated as Minister of Finance, and as President of the Council became the head of the government and of what is known in Italian history as the "Grand Ministero." He continued to devote great energy to the material development of the country. He strengthened its finances and effected numerous reforms, such as the legalization of civil marriage and the encouragement of secular education.

In 1854, although opposed by the whole country with the exception of the King and his ministers, Cavour brought about an alliance with France and England against Austria. This brought the kingdom of Sardinia

into the councils of the European powers. He sent an army of 10,000 Sardinians to the Crimea to fight side by side with the French and English armies. Europe was inclined to laugh at the little Sardinian army and the fable of the frog and the ox was recalled in numberless satires and cartoons. But when the small army unexpectedly gained a brilliant victory at Tchernaya, the effect was magical and the ridicule of Europe was turned to respect and admiration. The pride of all Italy was aroused as never before. Austria's weak course greatly destroyed her dominant power in European affairs, and at the Congress of Paris, in 1856, Cavour succeeded in having Sardinia admitted to the councils of the representatives of the Powers, and in having them consider internationally the condition of Italy.

His accomplishment in that Congress of Paris was so far-reaching that it enabled him to speak to all Europe through the Congress. He made it more and more apparent to the powers that the condition of affairs in Italy was a menace to civilization, that every town in the peninsula was a centre of fanaticism and that revolutions might burst forth at any moment to plague all of the countries of Europe. Although Cavour gained nothing definite for Sardinia at the Congress, he became universally recognized as an Italian leader. He was thinking and speaking of Italy, rather than of Sardinia.

The issue between Sardinia and Austria now became radical. Cavour began to make his preparations for the inevitable war. He raised the taxes to gain increased revenue and rapidly developed the resources of the country to meet the new burdens. It was about this time that certain Italian fanatics attempted to assassinate Napoleon III by throwing a bomb under his carriage. This occasioned a decided check in the better feelings toward Italy and caused a bitter distrust of Italians throughout

Europe. To offset this, Cavour had stringent laws against conspirators and assassins passed by the Piedmontese Parliament. The one thing which served powerfully to recover the confidence of Europe was the constant distinction which Cavour drew between a rational evolution of freedom and a sudden spasmodic plunge into revolution. He supported evolution rather than revolution.

After the attempt on Napoleon's life, Cavour held a secret conference with the French ruler at Plombières, in France. It was agreed that France would aid Italy in her war with Austria. Cavour understood that it would be a disadvantage to appear as the aggressor, and so by a masterful stroke of diplomacy he forced Austria to declare war on Sardinia. Napoleon sought to have another congress, in the hope of preventing the war, and England suggested that all of the Italian States should be admitted to that congress. Austria would not agree to this and peremptorily demanded the disarmament of Sardinia. This offensive ultimatum, which was not agreed to by Cavour, caused Austria to declare war and also left no other course open to Napoleon, except to support his ally in the war.

Cavour took up the onerous duties of Minister of War, while the War Minister, La Marmora, took command of the Sardinian forces. Everything progressed in Sardinia's favor until Napoleon, without consulting or advising his ally, negotiated the Peace of Villafranca with Austria, abruptly abandoning the cause of Italy when it was on the verge of success. Upon receipt of this news "Cavour was overcome with grief and rage, and so keenly felt that the betrayal had disgraced him personally that he resigned his office and again retired to Leri. On the contrary, he became the idol of Italy. The people began to realize the depth of his patriotism and the farsightedness of his policy. The new Ministry, under Rattazzi,

proved unequal to the task and in 1860 Cavour was recalled to his post at the head of the government."

At their conference at Plombières, Cavour had promised Napoleon to cede Savoy and Nice to France. Napoleon still had a large army in Lombardy and he let it be known that he would give his consent to the annexation of the central states of Italy, only in return for Nice and Savoy. Cavour considered it absolutely essential for the union of Italy to annex the central States, and signed a secret treaty, giving the two provinces to France. This was one of the most difficult tasks of his life—an act for which he has been most generally criticized. Although Parliament, with a large majority, ratified his act, it was a none-the-less severe test of his power and popularity. The great Italian soldier, Garibaldi, who had been born in Nice, never forgave Cavour for the act.

Naples and Sicily, in the southern part of Italy, were in a continual state of revolution, and when Sicily revolted against the Bourbon government, Garibaldi conducted an expedition in aid of the Sicilian revolutionists and soon took both Sicily and Naples. Although Cavour had neither planned nor promoted either of these moves, he overlooked their irregularity and planned to treat diplomatically with the victorious force, whose leader had become a popular hero. He sent an army down into Umbria and the Marches of Ancona in order that Garibaldi might not attempt to sweep north through the Papal territory. While this action was a direct defiance of the temporal power of the Pope, it was an inevitable step now that practically all of Italy desired to be united. Cavour's army took Ancona and marched on into Neapolitan territory, delivering the last central provinces from Austrian influence.

A dispute arose between the royal forces and those of Garibaldi, who had also been acting in Victor Emman-

uel's name. Cavour wrote to the King: "Garibaldi has become my most violent enemy, but I desire, for the good of Italy and the honor of your Majesty, that he should retire entirely satisfied." Cavour well knew that Garibaldi had never forgiven him for the sacrifice of Nice to France. There was a popular acclaim for Garibaldi's appointment as dictator of the territory he had conquered, but Cavour wisely suggested and influenced Parliament to pass a bill authorizing the annexation of any provinces in central and southern Italy which should express, by a plebiscite, their desire to become a part of the constitutional kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. There was great doubt as to whether this plan would be acceptable to Garibaldi. However, Garabaldi stated that if the people voted for annexation, they should have it, and an order was issued that "the two Sicilies form an integral part of Italy, one and invisible under the constitutional King, Victor Emmanuel, and his successors." Garibaldi thus made the King a present of his conquest and displayed the depth of his unselfish patriotism.

By the beginning of 1861 all Italy, except Venetia and Rome, was united. The work which Cavour had planned as a young man was almost accomplished. On February eighteenth the first Italian Parliament met in Turin. A few months later, Cavour, seeking to complete the historic Italy by having Rome its capital, secured the passage of a bill to that effect. But the great statesman did not live to see the consummation of his vision nor the annexation of Venetia, for which he had so longed.

The tremendous amount of work he had done during the fifty-one years of his life now began to show its effect upon his health. After a brief illness, he died on June sixth, 1861. No master of romance could have put more appropriate words into the mouth of a dying hero than those actually uttered by Count Cavour: "Italy is

made; all is safe." To the friar who administered to him during his last hours, Cavour whispered: "Brother, brother, a free church in a free State." When the great patriot died, his life work had practically been brought to a happy fruition. Italy was free and united; Victor Emmanuel had been accepted as the constitutional King of the entire nation; Rome had been proclaimed the capital of Italy.

Cavour died as he had lived—a splendid man and a true patriot. His great service was to guide into the right channel the flood of patriotism and heroism that was sweeping Italy—to restrain it from excess and misdirection. He alone realized that in order to politically create a nation, public opinion in general and the statesmen who directed the destinies of Europe, must be won over to the cause of Italy. He knew the necessity of convincing them that it was no anarchical revolution, but the inevitable development of the sentiment of nationality in a people whose history and traditions alike entitled them to shape their own destiny and take their place once more among the great powers.

Cavour did not belong to that class of politicians whose love of country is subservient to self-interest and whose objects are confined to flattering popular passions and prejudices. He never let the fear of decreasing his popularity deter him from performing what he considered to be his duty, and he repeatedly threw himself against the prevailing current of opinion when he deemed it harmful to the national cause.

Metternich once remarked: "There is only one diplomat in Europe, but unfortunately he is against us; it is M. de Cavour." Napoleon III told Cavour during their conference at Plombières: "There are only three men in Europe—we two and then a third whom I will not name." Cavour deserved the high esteem of the powers of Europe.

He possessed a superb brain, a brilliant imagination, a tireless will-power, indeed many qualities that made him of the rare type of Napoleon Bonaparte. Yet they were combined with an honesty of purpose, an absence of personal ambition, and a capacity of patience, all unknown to "The Little Corporal."

"He was the master mind who moulded Italy's scattered members into one whole; he was the great architect who erected the splendid temple of Italian national unity, founded on the cornerstone of constitutional liberty." Cavour achieved the work which the longings of an enslaved people and the heroic efforts of centuries had been unable to accomplish. He was loyally supported by the enlightened patriotism and bravery of Victor Emmanuel, the opportune friendship of Napoleon III, the incredible leadership and soldiership of Garibaldi, the energy of the Italian people and the sympathy of the civilized nations of the world. With their invaluable aid and by the boldness of his genius and the wisdom of his patriotism, he counteracted the deadly effects of the Congress of Vienna. Mazzini had breathed new hope into Italy; Victor Emmanuel had proved a noble leader to the cause; Garibaldi had fought and conquered; Cavour fused all these efforts toward a single goal—the freedom and the union of Italy.

PETER THE GREAT

PETER THE GREAT

RUSSIA'S MASTERFUL MAN

1672-1725

THE recent democratization of Russia places her in the limelight of the world. She is now in a crucible; all eyes are upon her tragic past and her critical present; all minds are speculating upon her uncertain future. They are looking for the "great man" which this great hour demands; the man who is to be a Washington and build a strong and enduring republic upon the foundation-stone laid when the young Minister of War Kerensky, in March, 1917, rose in the Duma and said, in answer to the Czar's demand that the body be dissolved, "We will not go, we will stay here."

Russia's dramatic entrance into the democracies of the world, practically without the shedding of blood, marks an epoch in history. In friendly recognition of that momentous event, the United States sent a commission of American diplomats to welcome her as a sister republic, to extend to her the nation's congratulations and to proffer any available assistance in stabilizing her place on the roll of democracies. The commission was headed by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State. The speeches of Secretary Root and Ambassador David R. Francis, made before the Duma, eloquently voiced our nation's reason for becoming one of her allies in the "great struggle to make democracy safe in the world."

Russia's potential wealth is greater than that of any other nation, but it is undeveloped and unutilized. It is like the crude ore of an inexhaustible mine, unavailable

until dug out and marketed. The vastness of the new republic is appalling. Over eight and a half million square miles, one-sixth of the total land area of the earth, twice the area of all the rest of Europe, and nearly three times that of the United States is encompassed within the unbroken boundary line of this mighty empire.

Paul N. Miliukoff, a young Russian who came to the United States to study, first at Chicago University and later at Harvard, caught the American spirit of freedom and equality and became obsessed with the vision of an enlightened Russia. He returned to his country with the purpose of freeing her from the tyranny of autocracy, and of inaugurating a public school system, as 80 per cent. of her one hundred and eighty million people cannot read or write. Should his plan be actualized, Russia will become earth's most promising field for achievement. This region of untold natural resources will become immediately the most inviting opening the world has to offer the ambitious youth, whether his aspirations be in the domain of agriculture, commerce, politics or education.

More than to any other single individual the present and the coming generations are indebted to Peter the Great for the foundation that made possible these auspicious Russian opportunities of today and tomorrow.

In the thirteenth century Europe was threatened with devastation by the mighty wave of Tartar invasion that poured down from the highlands of Asia across the vast plains of China, Persia and Russia, finally spending itself on the borders of Germany. These barbaric hordes left in their wake depopulated cities and deserted plains. The rising power of Russia was crushed at a blow, and for two hundred and fifty years her princes paid tribute to the great Tartar Khans. During this period she lost her identity as a European nation and became an Asiatic de-

pendency, oriental in dress, oriental in social customs, oriental in form of government and oriental in thought. Her rulers were despots and her national character was indelibly stamped with the remains of Tartar cruelty and barbarism. She faced the East, and was ignorant of the West. Things went from bad to worse until the latter part of the seventeenth century when there arose the monumental patriot who turned the face of this huge nation toward the civilization of the West.

Peter I, the son of Czar Alexis, was born in Moscow, June 11, 1672. He was the embodiment of the Russian characteristics of his age. Waliszewski says: "Never have the collective qualities of a nation, good and bad, been so summed up in a single personality, destined to be its historic type . . . Peter is Russia—her flesh and blood, her temperament, her virtues and her vices."

The forces with which he had to deal are shown in the turbulent years of intrigue and bloodshed preceding his accession to the throne. When he was four years old, his half-brother Feodor succeeded his father and ruled for six years. Feodor, upon his deathbed, designated Peter to succeed him instead of his own brother, Ivan, who was really entitled to the throne. Ivan's sister, Sophia, however, had designs of gaining power herself by the succession of feeble-minded Ivan. She, therefore, managed to circulate a story to the effect that Feodor had been poisoned by certain nobles who wished to gain control of the government through the young boy Peter. This story caused a horrible revolution in which Peter and his mother narrowly escaped death at the hands of the wild soldiery. The revolution was finally ended by the crowning of Ivan and Peter as joint rulers, with Sophia as regent. Ivan only lived until 1691 and during his few years was weak in mind as well as in body and made no effort to take part in the government, leaving everything to Peter.

The Regent Sophia, having the reins of the government securely in her hands, surrounded the youthful Peter with the worst possible influences, exposed him to every temptation and placed around him the most depraved and licentious associates, hoping to ruin his character and health, and render him unfit to take an active part as ruler.

Peter's mother hoped that through marriage he would be led into a better life and in 1689, when seventeen years old, she persuaded him to marry a young girl, who belonged to a powerful family. By this alliance, he was enabled openly to oppose his half-sister. Within a year he succeeded in wresting all power from her and confined her in a convent, where she spent the remainder of her days. His marriage, though politically helpful, was unhappy and the young couple separated within two years. The moment that he ascended the throne, though only a youth, Peter seems to have thoroughly understood the position of his empire. Previous Czars had issued edicts forbidding their subjects to leave the empire; Peter recognized the fact that they could not get out with or without permission. Both of the natural gates of Russia were locked upon them and the keys were in the hands of their enemies. He determined that his great inland empire, whose inhabitants had never seen nor heard of the ocean, should have an outlet through the seas and become a maritime power, and thus have a base for becoming a world power. There is nothing that indicates the true instinct of his genius more clearly than the constancy with which he cultivated a love of maritime affairs. Peter made himself a practical sailor. He realized that without seaports, Russia could never be redeemed from barbarism. Therefore he formed the plan of wresting the Baltic from the Swedes and the Euxine from the Turks. This was an immense undertaking, for Sweden and Turkey were at the height of their power.

Peter attached to himself two men, Lafort and Menzikoff, who were destined to play important parts in his life. Lafort was a young Swiss adventurer who had been educated abroad and had seen much of the world. Russia is greatly indebted to him for the first impulse towards western civilization and ideals. It was he who first planted the seeds in the fertile but fallow mind of the Czar; it was getic influence of Lafort, Peter organized a regiment of soldiers upon the European plan, which was to be the germ of the reformed army which he contemplated. He appointed Lafort colonel of the regiment and entered himself as a drummer so that he might be promoted by merit, as he required others to be. It was Lafort who discovered the celebrated Menzikoff, peddling cakes and pies on the streets of Moscow, and presented him to the Czar, who immediately appointed him a court page and later pushed him forward until he finally became a prince of the empire, general, governor and regent.

In 1695, Peter sailed down the river Don and struck his first blow at Azof. This campaign against the Turks was unsuccessful at the beginning, chiefly on account of the treachery of a trusted artillery officer. Peter, however, possessed the happy faculty of never knowing when he was defeated and renewed the attack. During the next year he succeeded in capturing the city. Upon his triumphant return to Moscow, then the capital of Russia, he levied large taxes upon the nobility and clergy to build and sustain a fleet upon the waters he had taken. With a single blow he humbled the savage Tartars of Crimea, who for centuries had harassed Russia and had extracted large tributes from her.

Now that he had secured a seaport, he took another step toward the establishment of Russia as a sea power. He not only sent a number of prominent young Russians into Holland, Italy and Germany to study the arts of civilized

life, but he personally set a noble example to his subjects by going to Holland to perfect himself in the arts, and especially to acquire a thorough and practical knowledge of maritime affairs.

Early in 1697, he appointed an embassy to visit his neighbors on the west—Sweden, Prussia and Holland, composed of Lafort, Menzikoff and two others as plenipotentiaries, and himself incognito as a minor attaché. In Prussia he left the embassy and hastened to Holland, where he established himself as a journeyman in the dock-yard of Mynheer Calf. Within a comparatively brief time, Peter became an accomplished shipbuilder, and made considerable progress in the study of civil engineering, mathematics and the science of fortifications. He not only mastered the Dutch language, but also acquired the miscellaneous accomplishments of tooth-drawing, blood-letting and tapping for dropsy. He inspected factories and studied industries of all kinds; and this was done within the space of nine months when he was twenty-five years old.

On leaving Holland, he visited England for the purpose of examining her navy yards, dock yards and maritime establishments, and to acquire some practical knowledge of English naval architecture. After spending some months there, he engaged a number of scientists and specialists to accompany him to Russia, where he employed them in various works of internal improvement.

While on his way home, Peter received news of an insurrection in Moscow, which caused him to hasten back to his capital. He found that the Strelitzes, corresponding to our national guard or militia, having been instigated to revolt by the Princess Sophia, had been defeated by his general, Patrick Gordon. The Czar ordered the leaders of the insurrection to be imprisoned, and many of them beheaded. It is said that he himself executed some of these rebels.

The Czar of Moscovy now sought to improve his country by transplanting the civilization of the older countries of western Europe. He endeavored to change the oriental customs of his people. He decreed that his subjects, with the exception of the clergy and a few especially favored ones, should either shave off their beards or pay an annual tax for the privilege of wearing them. As many chose to pay an enormous tax rather than to part with their sacred beards, it later became necessary to issue further decrees, increasing the tax, and finally compelling every man to shave. He issued an edict commanding all courtiers and officials to wear nothing but foreign-cut clothing. Peter himself cut off many of the long sleeves of his officers, saying: "See, these things are in your way! You are safe nowhere with them. At one moment you upset a glass, then you forgetfully dip them in the sauce; get gaiters made of them." Decrees were likewise issued against the use of the high Russian boots, Russian saddles and long Russian knives.

Peter doubtless went too far in such radical changes. for there is no great connection between costume and civilization; but he doubtless felt that when his people had once broken the customs and traditions of their ancestors regarding the unimportant matter of dress, it would be easier to make them break those traditions in regard to ideas of life, education and government.

He changed the beginning of the Russian year from September first to January first, and began reckoning time from the birth of Christ. He reorganized the monetary system of the nation, instituted assemblies for the encouragement of social intercourse between men and women, established libraries and galleries of art and introduced many other modern reforms.

The year 1700 is memorable in the history of Russia as the beginning of Peter's long and desperate effort to

gain the supremacy of the North. In an attempt to mobilize his full strength in a war against Sweden and thereby gain for Russia her proper place on the Baltic, he negotiated peace with Turkey in June, 1700. He was then free to make an alliance with Denmark and Poland and attack the young Charles XII of Sweden. This was the beginning of a war which lasted for twenty-one years. Peter was the only ruler of the allies to survive the war, and Russia was the only country to gain by it.

But the undisciplined Russian forces, although greatly superior in numbers, were signally defeated at the battle of Narva, November 30, 1700, by the veteran Swedish soldiers. Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden's national hero, had been dead sixty-eight years, when this great battle was fought, but his spirit dominated the veterans who fought desperately and victoriously, as they shouted: "We come in the name of Adolphus the Great."

This defeat, however, did not dishearten Peter, for while the Swedes were fighting in Poland, three years later, he seized a portion of Ingria, where he laid, May 27th, 1703, the foundation of his new capital, St. Petersburg, now called Petrograd. This city at last gave Russia a port on the Baltic.

After Peter had almost annihilated Charles' army at the decisive battle of Poltava, Sweden was able to enlist Turkey as her ally. The campaign against Turkey which followed was almost fatal to Peter's cause, for by it he lost the Black Sea forts and Azof, which he had gained by the expedition fifteen years before. Finally, in 1721, the war ended and the Peace of Nystad was concluded. Peter declared this to be the most profitable peace which Russia had ever made. The gain to Russia was more than territorial, for Sweden not only surrendered the last of her Baltic provinces, but the dominant power of the North.

On October 22, 1721, the official birthday of the Rus-

sian Empire, with thanksgiving services for the Peace of Nystad, the Czar was proclaimed in the senate to be the "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great and Emperor of all Russia." There were some who preferred that Peter be proclaimed "Emperor of the East," but he insisted upon the more patriotic title of "Emperor of All Russia." Russia was no longer looking to the East.

During the twenty-one years of the war, the nation had been constantly progressing internally. New institutions on western models gradually grew up; new men were being trained by the great regenerator to help him carry on his herculean task. The Great Northern Way, as it was called, was, primarily, a means of developing its material resources.

During the war, in 1712, at the age of forty, Peter was married to Catherine, who was afterwards crowned Empress of Russia. She was from the peasant class and could not read or write; but she was able to share Peter's pleasures and sorrows, to enter into his plans and to sympathize with his ambitions. She was able to cheer and comfort him and to help him overcome his sudden attacks of nervousness.

During the war, 1718, a widespread conspiracy was discovered. The purpose of the plot was to undermine Peter's reforms, but was promoted under the pretence of favoring his son, Alexis, a dissipated, indolent youth, who had caused his father continuous trouble and worry. The conspirators, including the Czar's son, were sentenced to death, but Alexis was taken ill in prison and died, after having been pardoned by his father. It must be remembered that Peter the Great was a despot, an absolute monarch. His lack of regard for human life was a trait common to his predecessors and to his countrymen, and the civilization of Russia had to grow for many years before all inhuman acts were to cease.

During the last four years of his reign his policy was chiefly oriental. As he had gained all that he desired in Europe, he turned to Persia, and during the years 1722 and 1723 waged a victorious war, which gained considerable territory for Russia.

In 1724 he set aside with characteristic arbitrariness the law by which the Czar's son succeeded to the throne, and crowned his wife Empress, stating that he wished the Empress to be his heir to the throne. He did not long survive this, for the Persian campaign had affected his feeble health. He died in the arms of the Empress on January 28, 1725, at the age of 53.

Peter's greatness lies largely in the recognition of his nation's needs and of his own obligations as its ruler to regenerate his country. His task would have been considerably easier if he had placed foreigners at the head of every department of the government and had allowed them graudually to train up a native bureaucracy, but he was patriotically determined that Russia should be ruled by Russians; he believed in the policy of Russianization of all the elements and races of the nation. Before his death, he had the satisfaction of witnessing every important office in the empire in the hands of capable and efficient Russians of his own training.

Peter the Great's character exhibits a strange mixture of opposing qualities. He was cruel and tender at intervals, yet never weak. At heart he was profoundly religious, having a firm persuasion that he was an instrument for good in the hand of God, yet he was indifferent to the educational and moral training of his subjects. He wrought mightily for the material upbuilding of his people, but was heedlessly neglectful of their spiritual advancement. Neither by precept nor example did he set before them the ideal character of man nor the noblest order of life.

He found Russia many fathoms deep in the chaos of barbarism and wrought out her civilization. He added six important provinces to his dominions, he gave her an outlet upon two seas, he established a regular trained army, he initiated a maritime fleet and a naval academy, he established libraries, galleries of sculpture and art, he founded and named the present capital—all this, yet by failing to recognize that the real foundation of a nation must be on the moral character of her people, he failed to reach the full height of greatness. Peter was cast in that mighty mold of patriotism that is characteristic of heroes of his time. In his great physical energy and capacity for work, in his unshakable convictions, in his iron will he stands as one of the distinguished figures of history.

This strange colossal hero founded a nation which has grown into the largest in population, the largest in area, the largest in resources of all the republics. He left Russia as his monument, which will, in the light of her new democracy, go on to greater achievements.

MIGUEL HIDALGO,
The "Patriarch of Mexican Independence."

MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA

FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY AND FOUNDER OF THE MEXICAN NATION

1753-1811

THE opening of the year 1800 saw the viceroyalty of New Spain at its greatest extent. Politically it included all of Spain's possessions in North America, Central America, the West Indies, and the Philippines. Moreover, in addition to this remarkable and unprecedented establishment of empire, Spain had other accomplishments to her credit and honor in North America by 1800. Elaborate and highly efficient administrative, judicial, and defense systems had been developed, and these, at least from the standpoint of Spain's interests, had stood the test of time for over two and one-half centuries. Upon an indigenous population of from six to nine million souls in North America Spain had left indelibly the impress of her language, religion, culture, laws, and institutions. Today, at least 20,000,000 people north of Panama speak the Spanish language, have been influenced by the gentility of Old Spain, still worship at the altars set up by Isabella the Catholic and Philip II, and are governed by laws that are basicly Spanish. No other nation, unless it were Rome, has left a greater impress upon subject peoples than Spain.

At the head of the vast political entity, known as New

In the writing of this chapter, the author had the collaboration of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Associate Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. See note 1 to the Chapter on Simon Bolivar.

Spain, stood the Viceroy and Captain-General. Throughout the length and breadth of the viceroyalty he was at all times and under all circumstances the personal representative of his majesty—the Catholic King of Spain. As such, he exercised in times of great danger immediate and original authority throughout the entire viceroyalty. Over the subdivisions of the viceroyalty, in normal times, he exercised only supervisory authority, whether military or administrative. The viceroy was also governor of territory contiguous to the City of Mexico, and exercised immediate administrative and military jurisdiction in it. Hence the title of every Viceroy of New Spain was: "Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General." In co-operation with the Viceroy in administrative matters was a body known as an Audiencia. Its prime duties were judicial, but in addition it served the Viceroy, in an advisory capacity, as a viceregal council. On the other hand the Viceroy, without any vote in judicial matters, was president of the Audiencia. In this way the Viceroy and the Audiencia served as a check and balance, the one upon the other.

Finally the Viceroy stood at the head of the ecclesiastical organization in New Spain. As vice-patron of the Church, he made recommendations to the Council of the Indies in Spain for all ecclesiastical appointments and preferments in New Spain. The Holy Office of the Inquisition was likewise under the supervision of the Viceroy.

The principal sub-divisions of the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1800 were the Captaincy-General of Guatemala; the Captaincy-General of Havana (formerly of Santo Domingo); the Commandancy-General of the Provincias Internas; the Presidency of Guadalajara; and the district, with Mexico City as its center, which was under the immediate jurisdiction of the Viceroy, acting as Governor and Captain-General. The captaincies-general were in effect viceroyalties on a small scale. Theoretically, as

noted above, the Viceroy was empowered to exercise immediate authority therein. In practice the Captains-General were virtually independent of viceregal interference.

The Captaincy-General of Guatemala in 1800 included the present Mexican state of Chiapas and all of Central America except present Panama. The Captaincy-General of Havana included the West Indian possessions of Spain, Florida, and Western or Spanish Louisiana. Cooperating with the respective captains-general and functioning in every other respect as the Audiencia of Mexico, were the Audiencias of Guatemala and Havana.

The Commandancy-General of the Provincias Internas, which included the northern provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, Coahuila, New Mexico, and Texas, was in effect a military viceroyalty. It had been created in 1776, and at its head was a Commandant General with military and political authority. He was directly responsible to the king, and was practically independent of the Viceroy, who exercised over him only advisory authority. The capital of the Provincias Internas in 1800 was Chihuahua.

The Presidency of Guadalajara, as a political entity, included only the province of Nueva Galicia. The head of its administration was the Audiencia of Guadalajara, the chief member of which was a president. In addition to functioning as an administrative council for the province of Nueva Galicia, however, the Audiencia of Guadalajara had judicial jurisdiction not only in the above province, but in the other adjacent provinces and throughout the entire Commandancy-General of the Provincias Internas.

All of the territory not included in the above-mentioned subdivisions of New Spain, was under the immediate jurisdiction of the Viceroy. In turn, each of the viceregal subdivisions was divided into provinces, corregimientos, or alcaldias mayores, at the head of which were gov-

ernors, corregidores, and alcaldes mayores, respectively. Each of these was appointed directly by the Viceroy or by the King. Thus, in theory, did the direct authority of the Crown reach to the most remote subdivision of the viceroyalty of New Spain.

The Catholic Kings of Spain were not content solely with the acquisition of empire, the exploitation of resources, and the evolution of a viceregal government, imperial in extent and character. From the outset, as noted in the chapter on Simón Bolívar, the Crown of Spain took the deepest interest in the subject races of America. These were regarded as the wards of the Crown, whose duty it was to protect, uplift, and teach them the Holy Catholic Faith. For this purpose there had been devised as early as 1503 the encomienda system, which, in its inception, was blameless and benevolent in character. Indians living upon feudal land grants, known as repartimientos, were assigned in trust, or, in encomienda, to trustees, or encomenderos, who were charged with the duty of protecting the Indians and of providing for their cultural and religious up-lift. In return the encomendero was authorized to exploit their services. As definitely established, the encomienda system was marked by the reduction of the Indians to village life, in order that their conversion and their education might be more easily effected. In 1584, according to Lopez de Velasco, royal geographer, there were in Spanish America 9,000 Indian towns, containing 5,000,000 souls, in encomienda to the king and to some 4,000 encomenderos.

But while the encomienda system was benevolent by intention it was abused, and resulted in the practical enslavement of the Indians. The vigorous protests of such humanitarians as Las Casas, caused steps to be taken, as early as 1542, aiming at the correction of abuses and the limiting and ultimate abolition of the system. It was not

until the eighteenth century, however, that the system was finally abolished. Gradually, as this was accomplished, two other agents of the Crown took the places of the encomendero. These were the missionary on the Northern frontier—in reality joint agent of Church and State—and the corregidor in the older and more settled communities. The former was more solicitous of the welfare of the Indians than the latter, who too often desired in the three to five year tenure of his office to reap only material gain therefrom. On the whole the theoretical policy of no other nation in dealing with its subject races was ever as benevolent as that of Spain; no other was ever so abused in practice.

Finally, the highest type of the culture of Old Spain had taken deep roots, if it had not been generally diffused in New Spain. There poetry, music, art, and architecture kept pace with, and in many respects excelled, the achievements of the rest of Europe during the colonial period. The first book printed in America was issued from the press in Mexico City in 1539. The first teacher of European music in America, Pedro de Gante, began his work in Mexico City in 1523. Great were the fruits of his labors, for even in the frontier province of New Mexico organs were used and Gregorian music chanted in the churches as early as 1603, 110 years before the first organ was used in the Anglo American colonies. The first University on the continent of North America was the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico. It was founded by decree of Charles V in 1553, eighty-four years before Harvard University was founded, and had a continuous existence until after the beginning of the Mexican national period. With reference to the institutions of learning founded in New Spain in the sixteenth century, Bourne says that "in number, range of studies, and standard of attainments by the officers they surpassed any-

thing existing in English America until the nineteenth century." Henry Clay, the original North American Pan-Americanist, speaking in the United States House of Representatives, in 1818, of the Latin-American said: "In astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, botany—they make distinguished proficiency—They have nine universities, and in the City of Mexico it is affirmed by Humboldt that there are more scientific establishments than in any other city in North America."

Such was New Spain on the eve of momentous changes which began before the close of the year 1800. For seventeen years the boundary between the United States and Spain in North America had extended from St. Augustine, Florida, westward to the Mississippi River, and thence up that stream to its source. By 1800 the growth and vigor of the United States were such that it was almost inevitable that the Spanish frontier should in time recede before the power of the rising young colossus with its face determinedly set to the West. But while this was true, the first backward movement of Spain in North America after 1783 was caused by European rather than by American politics.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, unfortunate Spain had been dragged, politically at the heels, first of France, and then of Napoleon. In 1800, Napoleon forced Spain to recede to him Western Louisiana. Three years later, Napoleon's dream of refounding the French colonial empire having come to naught, Louisiana was sold to the United States for a mere bagatelle, for the prime purpose of preventing it from falling by conquest into the hands of England—his arch enemy, and in the end his nemesis. Thus within the space of three short years from 1800 to 1803, the Spanish-American frontier receded, and the Anglo-American frontier advanced, from the Mississippi River almost half-way to the Rio Grande.

Close upon the loss of Louisiana and the consequent recession of her colonial frontier in North America, Spain became involved in European complications that provided the occasion, if not the inspiration, for the independence of her possessions in continental North America. As noted in the chapter on Simón Bolívar, Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808 deposed the lawful king of Spain, Ferdinand VII, and imposed upon the Spanish people as their king his brother, Joseph. The unparalleled flood of indignation and national resentment which swept over Spain found expression in a merciless and fierce guerrilla warfare against the French in the organization of local juntas for the purpose of keeping burning the home fires of patriotism. Finally a Central Junta was organized at Cadiz which in 1810 created a Regency to rule, in the name of Ferdinand VII, over Spain and the colonies.

The course of events in Europe profoundly stirred the inhabitants of New Spain, where Spain's policy, had been applied in all its details. There the Creole colonials had the same grievances against the mother country, because of the political, economic, and social privileges that were enjoyed exclusively by the Gachupines, as had stirred Simón Bolívar to action. In 1808 news arrived that Spain had been over-run by French troops and that Joseph Bonaparte had been forced upon the Spaniards as their king, a small ambitious Creole minority in New Spain, as was the case in Venezuela, saw their opportunity to attain some measure of deferred reform. Led by the Ayuntamiento of Mexico City—the Ayuntamiento there, as elsewhere in Spanish America, being the only instrument of colonial self-government—demands were made by the Creoles for a share in the government of the viceroyalty. In making these demands the Creoles took the position that when Ferdinand VII was deposed sovereignty reverted to the people, and, therefore, that they had a right

to a share in the government. For selfish reasons, inspired largely by his own personal ambitions, even Viceroy Iturrigaray lent an ear to the suggestions of the ambitious few. But to the Gachupin majority, in control at Mexico City, the suggestion of the Creoles seemed nothing short of rank political heresy. "The audiencia and the viceroy will not hesitate to call upon you when your help is needed," was the curt reply given to the Creoles. Thoroughly alarmed, however, at the audacity of the latter, and jealous in the extreme of their own position and of their many privileges, the Gachupines, as a safety measure, finally deposed the distrusted Iturrigaray, and named as viceroy, ad interim, one of their own number, Pedor de Garibay.

The next year the Gachupines servilely acknowledged the authority over New Spain of the Central Junta in Spain and accepted as Viceroy, Lizana y Beaumont, who was named by the latter body to rule over them. An abortive movement begun at Valladolid during his brief reign, having as its object the calling of a Congress to govern New Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII, in case Spain should entirely succumb to the French, was easily suppressed, and in September, 1810, a typical Gachupin Viceroy, Francisco Xavier Venegas, arrived in Mexico as the appointee of the new self-constituted Cadiz Regency in Spain. The hold of privileged autocracy on Spain's fairest viceroyalty never appeared stronger than at the time of the arrival of Viceroy Venegas.

While the jealous Gachupin and the ambitious Creole were quarreling in Mexico City over the question of whether or not the centuries old privileges of the former should, in the face of European developments, be extended to the latter, another political and social movement was developing in New Spain under the leadership of Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. This latter movement had as its object the extension of human rights and privileges

to the mass of Indians and Mexicans of mixed blood, whose claim to such privileges had never been conceded by either the Gachupin or the Creole. Strange as it may seem, such a suggestion was even more unthinkable to the Creoles than the proposal that the Creoles should be granted political, economic, and social liberties had been to the Gachupines. However, it was this movement initiated by Hidalgo, although it was opposed for ten years by both the Gachupin and the high Creole, that finally triumphed in the independence of all three classes alike.

The struggle for independence in New Spain presents some striking contrasts to the struggle for independence in the rest of Spanish America. In New Spain there was no Apostle of Independence to the abused Creoles, as Miranda; nor was there a militantly determined Bolívar to arouse and re-arouse his fellow Creoles to fight for independence. On the contrary, the initiation of the movement for independence in New Spain was the achievement of one man—Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. He did not, as Miranda and Bolivar, call upon the ambitious Creoles to strike for their rights. With the Iturrigaray plan of 1808 and the Creole separatist fiasco in his beloved Valladolid, in 1809, Father Hidalgo had not the slightest connection. Rather he essayed to arouse the down-trodden native Indian to strike for human freedom against the proud Creole and the prouder Gachupin alike. In doing this, Father Hidalgo made two great contributions to human liberty; he initiated the movement that culminated in the independence of Mexico, and also the movement for the uplift of the oppressed majority of the Mexican people—a movement that is still in progress 113 years after his death.

Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla was born near Penjamo, in the province of Guanajuato, on May 8, 1753. His parents were of respectable and well-to-do Creole stock; his

mother's family had come to New Spain some generations earlier from the province of Bizcaya in Spain, and his father was a descendant of the lesser Spanish nobility. The early youth of Miguel was spent on an hacienda, near Penjamo, of which his father was manager. There, amid agricultural pursuits, in a region renowned for its fertility and its healthful and delightful climate, young Miguel received his early education.

At the age of fourteen, Miguel was sent by his father to study in the College of San Nicolas Obispo in the not distant city of Valladolid (present Morelia), capital of the province of Michoacan, and the cultural center of a still larger district. There Miguel early distinguished himself in the study of philosophy and theology, at that time the most popular subjects in all colleges. After three years of study at Valladolid, Miguel qualified for the right to take the examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico. He passed these examinations and, having satisfied all other requirements, on March 30, 1770, at the age of 16 he received the coveted degree.

The next three years were spent by Miguel in further study and in lecturing on Latin, Philosophy, and Theology at the College of San Nicolas Obispo. In May, 1773, at the age of 20, he received from the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico the degree of Bachelor of Theology, which carried with it all rights, privileges, and immunities that were granted to Bachelors of Theology by the ancient University of Salamanca.

Again Miguel returned to Valladolid for further study and lecturing. Five years later, in 1778, he was ordained to the priesthood, which at that time ranked with law and the military as the most honorable of professions open to the sons of the Creoles. In 1791, at the age of 38, Father Hidalgo, as he may now be called, became Rector of the

College of San Nicolas. He served in that capacity for a few months and in March, 1792, he became curate of the parish church at Colima, on the Pacific Coast. The following year he was transferred to the parish church of San Felipe, in the Bishopric of Michoacan, where he exercised his parochial duties until 1800.

During the period of his curacy at San Felipe, Father Hidalgo first began to exhibit a liberal attitude toward the orthodox restraints imposed upon all alike by a medieval clerical hierarchy and by a political tyranny represented by Charles IV of Spain. In July, 1800, he was formally charged before the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico City with the unorthodox teaching, with immorality in private life, and with having read books that were prohibited by the Catholic Church. Similar charges were filed with the Holy Office the following year.

These charges against Father Hidalgo inspired a secret investigation of his conduct by the Inquisition. As a result it was fairly conclusively established that he had come to regard kings as tyrants, and that he favored political independence even at the cost of a revolution. It was also ascertained that he had read freely from current French literature, which, in particular, was under the ban of the Church, and that he had become imbued with French political and social ideas. A number of witnesses testified that his utterances were sufficiently heretical to justify him being burned at the stake. This evidence was not made use of at the time by the Inquisition Court, which rendered the opinion that the evidence against Father Hidalgo was questionable. It was not destroyed, however, but was filed away, and was used against him at a later date, when his conviction was regarded as essential to the welfare of the clerical hierarchy and to the political depotism alike. Moreover, at the Easter season of 1801, the Inquisition authorities were notified that Father Hidalgo had re-

formed. Thus was he not only spared the ordeal of defending himself before a medieval institution, but he was not made cognizant of his alleged indiscretions. This was fortunate for human freedom in Mexico.

In January, 1803, he succeeded his deceased brother, Jose Joaquin, as curate of the church of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores, in a little village by the latter name in Guanajuato. To this appointment the Holy Office of the Inquisition interposed no objection. There he began a work of love and service that was not to be interrupted for seven and one-half years, when he rang the bells of the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, and called upon his devoted parishioners, the majority of whom were Indians, to rise up in just indignation and assert their rights under his leadership.

At Dolores, in addition to attending the spiritual needs of his parishioners, Father Hidalgo fervidly concerned himself in their material welfare and social betterment, especially by the introduction of new industries. In so doing he came to be regarded not only a spiritual leader, but a great benefactor. Concerning these efforts, the distinguished Mexican historian, Lucas Alaman, says: "He greatly extended the culture of the grape, of which today, throughout that entire district, considerable harvests are gathered. For the culture of silkworms he began to plant mulberry trees, of which there are still in Dolores 84 trees, planted by him on the site to which has been given the name Las Moredas de Hidalgo (the mulberry trees of Hidalgo). Likewise there are still preserved the aqueducts which he built for the irrigation of the entire nursery. He had also built a pottery factory and another for brick; he had constructed forms for tanning leather, and he was engaged in establishing workshops for diverse crafts. All this and the fact that he was not only generous but even extravagant in money matters, had caused him

to place a high estimate on his parishioners, especially on the Indians, whose language he knew, and to appreciate everyone, who, as the Bishop-elect of Michoacan, Abad y Quiepo, and the Intendant of Guanajuato, Riano, were interesting themselves in the true development of the country. It would appear therefore, that in all these concerns he did not have practical knowledge, much less orderly instinct, which is indispensible for causing them to attain considerable progress. Notwithstanding this, he had achieved considerable success, having even made with the silk some garments for his own use and for the last wife of his father. He had increased also the raising of bees and transferred many swarms to the hacienda of Jaripeo when he bought that property. He was very fond of music and in addition to having the Indians of his curacy learn music, he frequently had the music of the Provincial Batallion of Guanajuato at the frequent entertainments which he had at his house.

Such were the indictments which the royalist author of the most reliable history of the revolutionary movement in New Spain, and, withal, one of the bitterest opponents of independence and of its illustrious initiator, made against the benevolent curate of Dolores.

While Father Hidalgo was engaged in promoting the material development of his curacy, the civil authorities sent agents to up-root his mulberry trees and his grape vines. This was in keeping with the prevalent theory that colonies existed only for the good of the mother country, and, therefore, colonial industries which might compete with those of the mother country must not be allowed to develop. "He hoped some day to enthrone industry in Mexico, and the silkworms donated him their regal vestures; but the foreign monopoly consigned its rivals to the flames. He wished to be an agriculturist and the vines smiled at him from the hillsides; but the Iberian sword

cut off their clusters of grapes. Teeming with benevolent and audacious projects he always found the Spanish government obstructing the way."[1]

On account of his reputation as a very liberal and unorthodox man and cleric, the Holy Office of the Inquisition reopened its case against Father Hidalgo, and in 1807 and 1809 witnesses testified against him before that high tribunal. But again the charges were set aside by the Holy Office.

It was inevitable that one with such liberal tendencies as Father Hidalgo should, in time, defy the oppressors of his native land, both clerical and political. "His associates were of like liberal tendencies. Liberalism throve better in provincial cities, among the Creoles, than among the official Spanish class in the capital. The desire for equal political and economic rights was growing among the Creoles, who found but limited opportunity in professions of the law, the church, and the army. Probably four-fifths of the native clergy were independents; they saw and were exasperated at the privileges of the Spaniards, especially of those who held the higher and better paid positions in the church."

While Gachupines and Creoles maneuvered in Mexico City for mastery, some of the liberal associates of the beloved curate of Dolores between the years 1808 and 1810 were Captains Ignacio Allende and Juan Aldama of the Queen's Dragoons, stationed at San Miguel el Grande, and the corregidor of Queretaro, Miguel Dominguez, and his celebrated wife, Dona Josefa Maria Ortiz, who deserves to share with Father Hidalgo the glory of having

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[1]The Spanish text reads: "Quiso un dia entronizar una industria en Mexico, y los gusanos de seda le donaron sus regias vestiduras; pero el monopolio extranjero entrego a las llamas sus rivales; qui so ser agriculter y las vinas le sonreian desde los collados, pero le espada ibera decapito sus racimos; fecundo en proyectos beneficos y audaces siempre encontraba al gobierno espanel corrandole el camine."

initiated the national insurrection in Mexico. Finally, these liberal associates formulated in Queretaro a plan which had as its ultimate object the independence of Mexico. This movement was to be initiated in the latter part of 1810, and property of the hated Gachupines was to be confiscated for the benefit of the public treasury, though the property holders themselves were not to be unnecessarily harmed. Captain Allende was to be the revolutionary generalissimo; and a government was to be set up, which theoretically, was to function in the name of the deposed king, Ferdinand VII. "As in Venezuela, so in Mexico, the pretext used to justify the insurrection was the necessity of defending the rights of Ferdinand VII."

Various faithless, or weak, co-adjustors, however, revealed the plan of the patriots to the Spanish authorities as early as August 11, and by the latter some of the patriots were tardily arrested in Queretaro on September 13. At once the resourceful and heroic Dona Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez successfully arranged to have the information reach Captain Allende, whom she assumed was at his post in San Miguel, but who was then sojourning at the house of Father Hidalgo in Dolores. At two o'clock on the morning of September 16—glorious day for Mexico, and one as sacred to Mexicans as is July 4 to the people of the United States—Captain Allende was aroused from his slumbers by Captain Aldama and Don Ignacio Perez, the faithful bearer of Dona Josefa's news. After conferring, Captain Allende and Aldama went to the bed-chamber of Father Hidalgo. The latter upon being awakened and advised of the action of the Spanish authorities at Queretaro, began to dress, "resolved to give the grito of independence at once." To his companions the venerable curate exclaimed: "Gentlemen we are lost; there is no other recourse than to go and seize the Gachupines." Thereby the discovery of the plan of the patriots precipitated their

long contemplated course of action. "The curate of Dolores did not reach the decision to give the grito of independence until, identified by suffering with the enslaved masses of the colony, he was able to appreciate to the fullest their misery, their sorrows, their incessant and sterile struggle against the difficulties which the despotism of the dominators ever imposed upon them, nor until he realized that such a sad and abject situation had no other remedy than the breaking of the chains which bound the nation to the enslaving mother country."

Forthwith Father Hidalgo summoned his brother, Mariano, the vicar, Don Mariano Balleza, and ten of his servants, and together they repaired to the jail, where, at the point of a pistol, the terrified goaler was forced to liberate the prisoners. With these as a nucleus Father Hidalgo soon had a force of eighty men, who were armed with the swords of the regimental soldiers in the town. Next, the Sub-Delegate, Rincon, and other Spaniards were apprehended, and about dawn—a little earlier than usual,—Father Hidalgo "had the church bells ring the garrulous and glad call to Sunday mass, and hastily, now in full daylight, from the surrounding ranches his parishioners came, filling the atrium." To the more than 300 assembled and surprised persons Father Hidalgo, in a brief talk, explained the purpose of the revolution—namely to bring about the independence of their fatherland. "He gazed on the upturned faces with deep and yearning solicitude. 'My children,' he said, 'This day comes to us a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?'" "Long live independence, long live America, down with evil government," was the cry sent back to him by those hoarse Indian throats. Thus was sounded the original grito de Dolores—another battle-cry in behalf of human freedom,

which, like the first gun fired at Lexington, was destined to be "heard round the world." It was to be sounded and resounded until Mexico was an independent nation.

Militant in its inception, the "Plan de Dolores" called for quick action against the Spaniards. Accordingly Father Hidalgo set out for San Miguel el Grande the same morning with his poorly equipped force, entirely devoid of order and discipline. On the way he was joined by multitudes of Indians—hereditary toilers of the fields—armed with arrows, cudgels, slings and farm implements. On passing through Atotonilco, Father Hidalgo noticed in the ante-chamber of a chapel a picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of the Mexican Indians. This he suspended from a lance and thenceforth it served as the guidon of the army of the revolution for independence. Thus the movement assumed the status of a religious war. Soon it was characterized by all the fervor, intolerance, and fanaticism of a religious crusade, and the battle cry of the oppressed Indians came to be: "Long live the Virgin Guadalupe; death to the Gachupines." This was unfortunate, but in spite of it and other shortcomings after the movement gained momentum, this Indian uprising initiated by a benevolent village priest on September 16, 1810, "at the obscure village of Dolores signalized the beginning of a war which did not entirely cease for eleven years—a war which crimsoned the soil of Mexico with blood," but which gave birth to a nation.

When he had initiated this great movement, Father Hidalgo had fulfilled his mission in behalf of oppressed humanity. "From then on, for a few months, it shall go hard with him to the bitter end. The revolution shall go beyond his control. He shall be appointed Captain-General, but will prove himself not a great soldier. His army shall triumph at times, but only in spite of its ignorance and his poor command. Allende will succeed him in the military

leadership; Morelos will join him and become his lieutenant and undertake the task of bearing forward the fight of independence in years to come. But Hidalgo will not long outlive his day of triumph, of proclamation of independence."

San Miguel el Grande was reached by the "army" of independence at night-fall on September 16, and there Captain Allende's regiment of the Queen's Dragoons joined the movement. After imprisoning various Spaniards, the revolutionists set out for Celaya, which was reached on September 21. There Father Hidalgo, who, by common accord, had been recognized as chief, was, by the other leaders and the Ayuntamiento of Celaya, chosen on September 22 as Captain-General of the revolutionary army, which at that time numbered approximately 50,000. At the same time Captain Allende was chosen Lieutenant-General.

From Celaya the revolutionists advanced against Guanajuato, capital of the province of the same name, and seat of the treasury of the Intendency of Guanajuato. There under Intendant Riano the Spanish population defended themselves to the death in the public granary (Alhondiga de Granaditas).

Before the assault on the granary was begun Father Hidalgo served notice upon the Spaniards, who had sought refuge there, that he had "undertaken a beneficent project," namely, "the proclamation of the liberty and independence of the Mexican nation. Accordingly, I do not view the Spaniards as enemies; but only as obstacles to the success of our enterprise." Hidalgo then called upon Intendant Riano to make known this fact to the Spaniards in the granary "in order that they may decide whether they will declare themselves as our enemies, or will agree to become prisoners who will receive humane treatment—like those already in our company—until Mexican liberty and

independence are achieved. At that time, such persons will become Mexican citizens entitled to the restitution of their properties which we use at present because of the exigencies of war. If, however, those Spaniards do not decide to become our prisoners, I shall use every force and stratagem to destroy them without any thought of quarter."

The besieged Spaniards refused to accept the offer, and not one escaped. In the flush of victory, the fury of the vast Indian hordes was beyond all control. Father Hidalgo and Captain Allende attempted to check the plunder, arson, and murder, but their efforts were futile, until Indian lust for blood and vengeance had been satisfied. Finally in an effort to put a stop to the vandalism that prevailed, Father Hidalgo, on September 30, issued an edict imposing grave penalties upon all offenders; when this had little effect he ordered that all thieves should be shot. The Syuntamiento was reconstituted so as to include only Creoles, and a mint and a foundry were started, the one to coin money and the other to provide much needed cannons for the revolutionists. In these ways did the erstwhile curate of Dolores undertake constructive measures for the revolution.

By this time the Spanish authorities were thoroughly aroused to the danger of the movement at which they had scoffed at first. Military forces in the North under General Felix Maria Calleja were hastily summoned by Viceroy Venegas. The high clerics, ever faithful allies of the Spanish authorities, struck at the independentists. Bishop Abad y Quiepo of Michoacan, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Mexico, issued a decree excommunicating Father Hidalgo and his companions, and the Holy Office of the Inquisition reopened its case against him and ordered him to appear for trial. Their edicts, however, did not produce the desired effect; "they did not cause a single

soldier to desert the insurgent cause," although they were probably the means of keeping the capital and other cities loyal to the Spaniards. To the edicts, Father Hidalgo made a vigorous reply and then led his force against the viceregal capital itself.

The route taken lay through Valladolid. As the revolutionary army approached that city, the Bishop and the Spanish authorities fled in terror, and on October 17, Father Hidalgo entered in triumph the city where earlier he had spent many happy days in study. While he was there a cleric, left temporarily in charge of the mitre of Michoacan, annulled the decree of excommunication against the rebels, and a sum of several hundred thousand pesos was obtained from the Cathedral vaults and from private individuals. From Valladolid, where many enlistments were made to the patriot cause, the revolutionary army, then numbering 80,000 men, advanced on Mexico City.

The viceregal and independentist forces met at Monte de las Cruces, only fifteen miles from the capital, where the 7,000 Spanish troops of General Trujillo were decisively defeated, although at terrible cost to the patriots. This victory opened up the way to Mexico City, which Captain Allende favored advancing upon at once. Father Hidalgo opposed this plan, giving as his reasons the lack of munitions, the losses suffered in the recent battle, the approach from the North of other royalist forces under General Calleja, and the doubtful outcome of an attack on the fortress of the capital. The two leaders being unable to agree the rebel army remained inactive at the very gates of the city until November 1. The next day a retreat was begun with the object of occupying Queretaro. The patriot objective was disputed by General Calleja at Aculco and on November 7 the revolutionists fled precipitately from the field without even offering battle.

Monte de las Cruces marked the zenith of Hidalgo's success; Aculco marked the definite turning of the tide against him. The morale of the patriots had been weakened by the failure to follow up the victory at the former place; it reached a low water mark by the debacle at Aculco. Thenceforth Hidalgo found it increasingly difficult to hold his forces together.

After the disaster at Aculco the patriot forces divided. One wing under Father Hidalgo retired to Valladolid. The other, under Captain Allende, finally reached Guanajuato. At the former place, Father Hidalgo learned that the revolutionary movement was being warmly espoused in the west; accordingly he resolved to transfer his headquarters to Guadalajara. Having notified Captain Allende of this decision, he left Valladolid on November 17 with only 7,000 horsemen, and 240 infantrymen. Nine days later he reached Guadalajara where he was soon joined by Captain Allende.

At Guadalajara, Hidalgo and Allende organized a revolutionary government with the former as chief. Two secretariats were established; an ambassador was accredited to the government of the United States with instructions to negotiate with it a treaty of alliance and commerce; and a periodical, the Despertador Americano (The Awakened American), was founded as the first organ of the revolution in New Spain. Here Hidalgo issued his most worthy decree. Article I of this decree imposed the death penalty on all who, at the end of ten days, had not liberated their slaves; an odious tribute imposed upon the castes and upon Indians was abolished by Article II. Again let it be said: "Honor to whom honor is due." Father Hidalgo was the first to decree the liberation of human slaves on the continent of North America. His decree of emancipation antedates that of Bolívar in South America by over five years and that of Lincoln by over a half-century.

Soon these constructive efforts of the leaders in behalf of liberty and freedom were rudely disturbed by the advance of General Calleja with 6,000 disciplined royalist troops. With his reorganized force, amounting to 80,000 men, Father Hidalgo went forth to battle at the Puente de Calderon, a few miles outside the city of Guadalajara. The battle began on January 17, 1811, and after six hours of desperate fighting ended in a crushing defeat for the poorly equipped and inefficiently organized patriots. Father Hildago and Captain Allende, escaped from the field, and, with a mere remnant of their followers, retreated by way of Zacatecas, toward the Provincias Internas, where it was vainly hoped that their forces might be reorganized and reinforced.

The battle of the Puente de Calderón marked the beginning of the end of the first phase of the revolution for the freedom and independence of Mexico. On January 25 the retreating insurgent officers secretly deposed Hidalgo as generalissimo, although outwardly his authority was recognized. "Henceforth, though his magnetic character was useful in holding adherents, his voice was not heard in military councils, and he was treated practically as a prisoner. Nevertheless he continued loyal to the cause he had originated.—He was a superb loser."

When the disheartened leaders in their northward flight reached Saltillo, in the Province of Coahuila, Father Hidalgo received an offer of pardon, guaranteed by a decree of the Spanish Cortes. He refused to accept it because of his pledge "not to lay down arms 'until the priceless jewel of liberty had been torn from the hands of oppressors.' He firmly declared that he would enter into no negotiations with Spain which did not have as their basis the recognition of the liberty of the Mexican Nation." In this way the warrior priest glorified himself in adversity more than he could ever have done in the hour of victory.

While the revolutionists halted at Saltillo, a disgruntled Colonel, Ignacio Elizondo, turned traitor, and laid a trap, by which, on March 31, Father Hidalgo, Captain Allende, and the other leaders became his prisoners at Las Norias de Bajan. From there the prisoners were first taken to Monclova, and, later, for trial, to Chihuahua, capital of the Provincias Internas, where they arrived on April 23. "This was the longest journey the Father of Mexican Independence had ever had occasion to undertake—miles of unwatered roads, dragging chains, allowed almost no rest by night or day, this was his via crucis."

The arrival of the prisoners at Chihuahua was joyfully announced by the Commandant General of the Provincias Internas, who referred to the treason of Elizondo as a well conceived stratagem, "whose execution would have been impossible but for the especial aid of heaven." In these words entrenched tyranny, in a blasphemous way, exulted over what proved to be but a temporary set-back to the independence movement initiated only a few months earlier by the leader of the group of prisoners, who, with stoicism, then endured the severest of treatment.

The prisoners were given a trial by a special military tribunal, and, by its decree, all but Father Hidalgo were shot in the back on June 26. Because he was a priest and the chief initiator, Father Hidalgo's trial was more formal and lengthy than that of the others. "Without pride, but at the same time without fear, he assumed responsibility for all of his acts, even those which might have been attributed to popular exaltation or to the imperious exigency of circumstances. He neither intimidated, exonerated, nor denounced any one, as did his companions, who, through weakness, or, perhaps, nursing some hope, denied their willing participation in the insurrection and placed all the blame for the movement on their chief."

When the military investigation was concluded, Hidalgo

was turned over to clerics for trial on behalf of the Church. On July 3, 1811, an opinion was rendered that Hidalgo was "a conspirator guilty of high treason and an instigator of treacherous murders. Therefore he should be put to death." On July 19 he was clad in the garments of a priest solely that he might be publicly degraded and unfrocked by a Bishop's henchman. One week later the recommendation of the clerics was carried out in a formal sentence of death by the military tribunal.

In the words of Robertson: "The ominous news of his death sentence did not humiliate the condemned man, who evidently had recovered his remarkable poise. Francisco de Jauregui, an eyewitness of the solemn ceremony of degradation, declared that, when Hidalgo was being ignominiously stripped of the priestly vestments, he bore himself with such serenity that the priests engaged in the ceremony were horrified. Further, this observer declared that, when the sentence of death was read, Hidalgo received it with surprising indifference, and that when he was asked if he had anything to say, he blandly requested that an attendant should bring him some sweetmeats. 'During the entire day,' said Jauregui, 'he spoke of unimportant matters; he slept well at night, breakfasted with pleasure, and showed few signs of repentance.' Hidalgo's keepers evidently treated him humanely, for, on the eve of his execution, he expressed his gratitude to the goalers in two stanzas of poetry which he scrawled upon the walls of his dungeon. Early on the morning of July 30, after being quietly escorted out of his cell into the courtyard of the prison, Hidalgo was shot by a squad of soldiers. Many years later, Lieutenant Armendariz, who commanded these soldiers declared that Hidalgo died while holding aloft a crucifix."

The bodies of Father Hidalgo, Captain Allende, and two of their compatriots were given burial at Chihuahua.

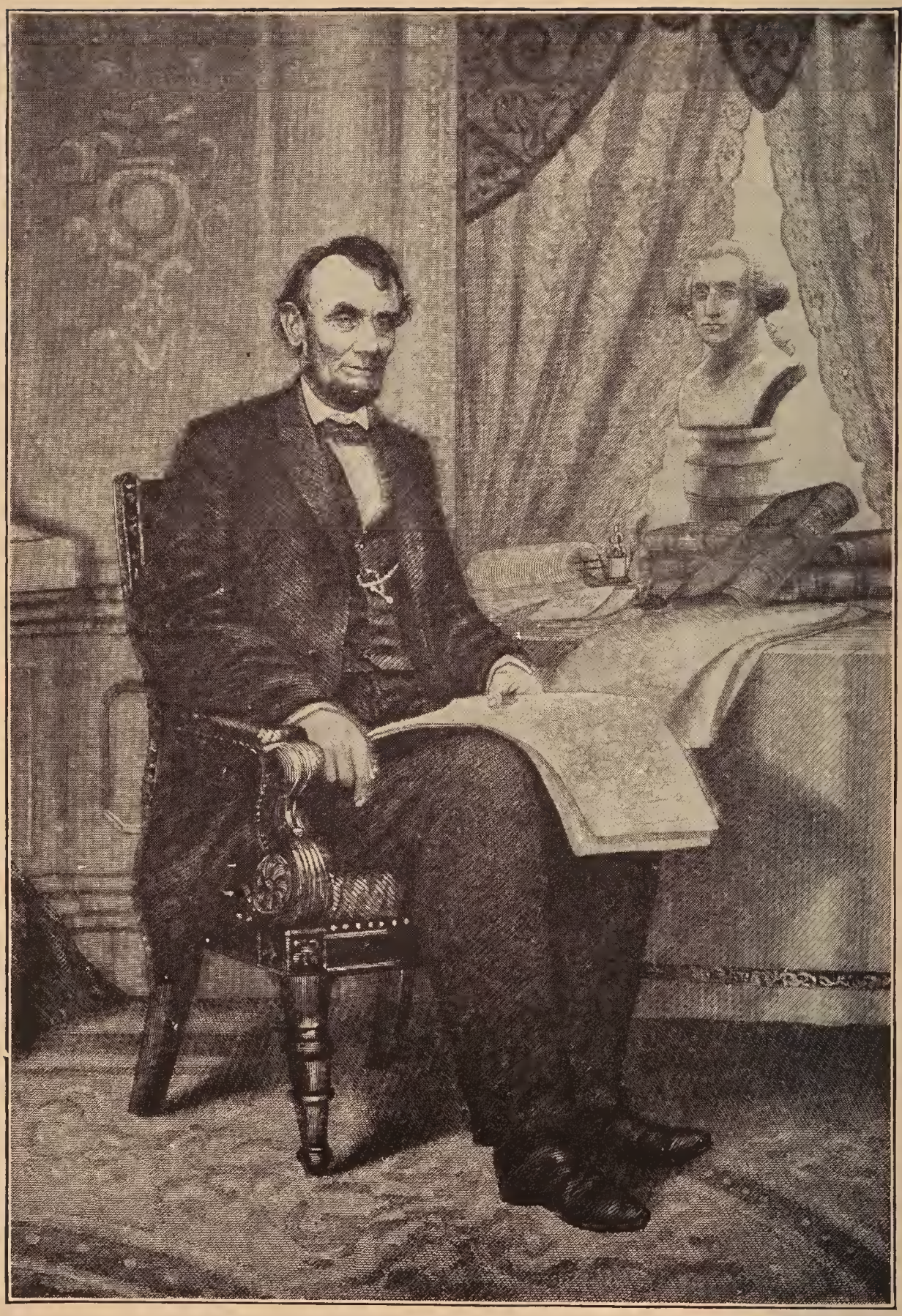
Their heads, however, were displayed for ten years, or until after the independence movement had succeeded, in iron cages, hung from the four corners of the Alhondiga de Graniditas. Today the remains of Father Hidalgo lie buried beneath the apse of the "Altar of the Kings," in the Cathedral at Mexico City.

After the death of Hidalgo the revolutionary movement in Mexico suffered one of its darkest hours, but not the one just before the dawn. The mantle of Hidalgo, at his death, fell upon the shoulders of a fellow priest, Jose Maria Morelos. By him both the spirit and the outward organization of the movement for independence were ably directed until 1815. In that year this "hero of a hundred battles" sacrificed himself in order to save the rebel Government. He was tried by the Holy Office of the Inquisition—its last and one of its most noted victims. By it was he found guilty of heresy and of treason to God, the Pope, and the King. At the request of the Inquisition, he was shot by the secular authorities on December 22, 1815.

Another dark period followed the death of Morelos, but determined and self-sacrificing patriots carried on and kept alive the ideal of Hidalgo and Morelos—the independence of Mexico, by, and for, the despised classes. By 1820 a brilliant revolutionary star had risen in the person of Vicente Guerrero. So successful was he in carrying on the revolutionary movement that in the early part of 1821 a dashing young officer, Augustin Iturbide, who had been sent by Viceroy Apodaca to crush for all time the insurrectionist movement, despaired of fulfilling this injunction, and, of his own accord, offered to compromise with Guerrero. The outcome of this was the Plan de Iguala, subscribed to by both Guerrero and Iturbide. This joint document proclaimed, and soon thereafter was attained, the absolute independence of Mexico, with guaran-

tees for individual liberty and rights in the new nation for all alike, whether Gachupin, Creole, or Indian. In this way the ideal of Hidalgo, conceived at a wayside Indian village, and brought forth in years of travail, finally triumphed in the birth of present Mexico.

One can not cease to regret that Father Hidalgo did not live to be assured of the ultimate success of his efforts. Nevertheless, his is the glory of having initiated the movement for the independence of Mexico. In the words of the celebrated Mexican historian, Genero Garcia: "Hidalgo initiated the War of Independence, Morelos developed it, and Guerrero carried it to its conclusion." Another Mexican writer has aptly said: "The Mexican people have acclaimed Hidalgo as the Father of his Country and in their hearts they have erected an altar to him as the true founder of the Mexican Nation." By so doing he earned for himself the distinction of being a world patriot.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AMERICA'S TYPICAL PATRIOT

1809-1865

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was the controlling spirit in the greatest crisis through which our nation has passed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Although the great Washington presided over the convention which wrote that instrument which Gladstone called "the most wonderful document ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," there were elements of weakness in the new constitutional system which was destined to be eliminated by the life and labors of Abraham Lincoln.

The miraculous growth of the fame of Lincoln has no parallel in the history of great men. There have been over twelve hundred different biographies written of him, the greatest number ever written of any American. It is difficult to divine the secret of his fascinating personality. He was at once simple and profound, modest and bold, gentle and firm, logical and poetical, jocular and serious, sympathetic and severe, gloomy and optimistic. There was in him a mysterious blending of rare qualities of heart and mind which cause men to gaze with increasing wonder and admiration upon the record of his amazing achievements.

When requested to give an account of his youth he answered: "Why, it is a great folly to attempt to make anything out of me or my early life. It can all be condensed in one short sentence of Gray's Elegy:

" 'The short and simple annals of the poor.' "

Later, however, he set out a few of the details of his life in a letter as follows:

"I was born February twelfth, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, some others in Macon County, Illinois. My parental grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians—not in battle, but by stealth—when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham and the like.

"My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was required of a teacher beyond readin', writin' and cipherin' to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition or education. Of course, when I came of age, I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

"I was raised to farm work, which I continued until I was twenty-two. At twenty-two, I came to Illinois and passed the first year in Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected captain of volunteers—a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went through the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten, the only time I have ever been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this legislature period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846, I was elected once to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable it may be said, I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average of one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN."

Socially, Lincoln was a plain American citizen of the common people. His father was of the sub-stratum of society, where poverty pinched and ignorance abided; yet the boy Abe possessed from childhood an eager mind that hungered for intellectual opportunities. The famine of social gratification in the Lincoln household made him

crave companionship. A strong feeling of brotherhood for mankind grew in his breast. He developed a passion for biographies of heroes. His meager library consisted of Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, the Bible and Weem's Life of Washington. He shucked corn to pay for that quaint book of biography which inspired in him an ambition to prepare himself for the position first held by George Washington, whom he had adopted as his ideal. When a mere lad he dreamed and talked of being President, and each new duty in his life was consciously or unconsciously preparing him for distinguished service to his country. Woodrow Wilson said: "No man ever entered the presidential chair so well prepared for the position as Abraham Lincoln."

The profession which he chose was the law, which he mastered under trying handicaps. He did most of his legal studying while splitting rails in the Sangamon Bottoms, running a sawmill, working as a deck-hand on a flat boat to and from New Orleans, working as a day laborer for neighbor farmers and serving in the Illinois State legislature.

One employer tells a typical story of the lanky boy whom he found awkwardly cocked up on a haystack with a book. "'What are you reading?' I says. 'I am not reading, I am studying,' says he. 'What are you studying?' says I. 'Law,' says he, as proud as Cicero." Abraham Lincoln was not reading, but studying. This is the key to his mental processes. The studying of a few great books developed in him that rare capacity for concentrated thought which was the most marked of his powers.

Perhaps his keen interest in surveying and the knowledge of it, which later made him a deputy surveyor, was suggested by the fact that George Washington in the pioneer days had devoted his life to that pursuit. If every youth in the United States could hold before him

such examples as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, the coming generation would give to the world a nation of patriots.

During the Black Hawk War, Sangamon County, Illinois, organized a company and elected young Lincoln its captain. Many stories are told by the soldiers of his physical and moral courage. One day a forlorn and hungry Indian came to camp seeking charity and saying: "Injun white man's friend." The soldiers were about to hang him as a spy when Lincoln interfered and saved his life, offering to fight every man in his company. "When a man comes to me for protection, he's going to get it, if I have to lick all Sangamon County," he shouted in that shrill and penetrating voice which was later to hold men breathless with words of undying wisdom.

The legal profession has been a stepping-stone to political preferment since the beginning of our government. Lincoln was a politician even before he was a lawyer. Only ten days before the election he returned from the Black Hawk War and offered himself for the Illinois legislature. The rude times and the crude society in which he lived are well shown in his maiden political speech, made at a public sale a few miles from Springfield. After the sale, the speech-making and the fighting began. Lincoln took part in both. After vanquishing his man, whom he had fought in protecting a friend from abuse, he mounted the speaker's platform. He was dressed in a homespun blue jeans coat and tow trousers. He said: "Fellow citizens: I presume you know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the legislature. My politics are short and sweet—like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If

elected, I shall be thankful—if not, it will be all the same."

This was Lincoln's unpretentious entrance upon a political career unparalleled in history. He was defeated, but his life is one of the best examples of that American insistent determination which overcomes the most trying hardships and consuming defeats. By indomitable will and a masterful resuscitating power, he surmounted every failure. His life is a constant encouragement to those who are called upon to combat hardships and overcome difficulties. The innumerable failures, which would presuppose a lamentable inefficiency, he made stepping-stones to future achievements. He was subsequently elected four times to the legislature.

In 1844, he was suggested for Governor of Illinois, but with his usual frankness he announced himself a candidate for Congress. He did not, however, receive the nomination until two years later, when he was easily elected. He attracted much attention throughout the country by his speech in favor of Zachary Taylor for the presidency. A leading editor said: "He is a very able, acute, uncouth, honest, upright man and a tremendous wag. His manner was so good-natured, and his style so peculiar, that he kept the House in a continuous roar of merriment. It was the crack speech of the day."

Lincoln's term in Congress was as valuable to him as a course at college. The Mexican War was fought during his service—a war which was not only a camp of instruction wherein those valiant heroes—Winfield Scott, U. S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston—received training for our terrible Civil War, but also a sort of skirmish line between the slavery and the anti-slavery forces. The North and South marshalled their advocates in the halls of Congress, and, ultimately, on the fields of battle. Lincoln introduced what is known as his "Spot Resolution," requiring the President to in-

form Congress of the exact location of the "spot" desecrated by murderous Mexicans on our soil. He supported the famous "Wilmot Proviso," the purport of which was to exclude slavery from any territory acquired from Mexico. Even at this time Lincoln unhesitatingly and firmly took his first stand against the extension of slavery. When a youth he had witnessed the sale of negroes from an auction block at New Orleans. The horror of it had stirred in his heart that impulse which was later to inspire him to give freedom to seven million slaves. That was the point of friction which provoked the War of Secession. He never receded from the position.

When Lincoln left Congress, at the age of thirty-seven, he was a man of extensive reading, earnest thought, a close observer of national affairs and an orator of recognized power. He desired re-election to Congress and could have secured it had he not been under an agreement not to enter the campaign against a friend. He returned to the law office with the determination to eschew politics from that time forward and devote himself entirely to law. He was the partner of William B. Herndon, and the firm had an extensive practice. But the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, providing for the explicit repeal of the Missouri Compromise, roused in him such indignation that he once more entered politics. On August twenty-fourth, 1855, in a familiar letter to an old friend, Joshua Speed, he defined his position on the issues of the day:

> "I do oppose the extension of slavery because my judgment and feelings so prompt me, and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must. . . .
>
> "You inquire where I now stand. This is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was in Washington I voted for the Wilmot

Proviso as good as forty times; I never heard of anyone attempting to un-Whig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-Nothing, that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We practically read it 'all men are created equal except negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control it will read 'all men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to this I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

At the next election, in 1858, he was nominated to run against Stephen A. Douglas for the United States Senate. He challenged Douglas to a joint debate. Douglas was recognized as the greatest forensic debater since Webster. Although he defeated Lincoln, the seven debates attracted national attention and paved the direct way to the presidency. Lincoln revealed in his speeches a masterful logic, a comprehensive grasp of national affairs and a brilliant wit and sense of humor which captured his hearers and opened the eyes of the country to his greatness of mind and spirit. Lincoln and Douglas became known as the Big Giant and the Little Giant of the West.

The Republican party advanced to Lincoln's position and his nomination for the presidency came as a unanimous call. The Republican State Convention of Illinois met at Decatur, May ninth, 1860. Lincoln was observed in the audience and amid a roar of applause was seized by the crowd and carried to the platform. Before the con-

vention adjourned, it resolved that Abraham Lincoln was the first choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the presidency. With characteristic energy and unusual political skill he secured the nomination at the Republican National Convention at Chicago, May eighteenth. At the psychological moment of this second and most dramatic National Republican convention, two ten-foot hickory rails were brought upon the platform. Upon the rails hung a placard bearing in large letters the following inscription:

"TWO RAILS
FROM A LOT MADE BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN
AND JOHN HANKS, IN THE SANGAMON
BOTTOM, IN THE YEAR 1830."

At the sight of this the delegates went wild with enthusiasm and "The Rail Splitter" became the slogan of the most exciting campaign in American politics. It later became the occasion for scathing sarcasm by his enemies, who said that he was a rail splitter in his early life and a nation splitter in his later life. Senator Seward of New York was the leading candidate. Chase of Ohio, Bates of Missouri, Smith of Indiana, and Cameron of Pennsylvania were also candidates. Seward's vote remained about the same. As state after state turned to Lincoln great excitement prevailed. On the third ballot he received the 233 votes necessary for nomination, and the crowd went wild—pandemonium reigned, men shouted and laughed, they wept and sang, they pounded and hugged each other; hurrahs within and cannon without made Chicago tremble.

Lincoln's speech of acceptance was the product of great care and the mature thought of years. A coterie of his friends, who were invited to hear his proposed address, were dumfounded at its daring tone and masterful sweep. They urged him to modify it. Lincoln announced that he would rather go down to defeat with the principles of

that speech than to win without them. He was immovable in his resolution. The startling thought was expressed in the famous passage: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe the government cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I *do* expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

This position as to slavery was in direct contravention of the policy of the nation as enunciated in the Missouri Compromise of 1820—a compromise which actually divided the nation into two parts—one part slave and the other part free. But Lincoln was far in advance of the vacillating legislation of his time.

His indignation over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had elicited from him the sharpest and shortest exposition ever given on the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty." He said it amounted to just this: "That, if any man chose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object."

The four and a half months between Lincoln's nomination and election marked the most enthusiastic, intense and exciting campaign in American politics. His three opponents were men of national renown with great personal followings. Douglas, from his adopted State of Illinois, was a United States Senator. Breckenridge, from his native State of Kentucky, had an enormous support from the South. Bell, from Tennessee, was a popular Whig of the constitutional party.

Against these odds, Abraham Lincoln received over them all fifty-seven electoral votes. From the day of his election in November until his inauguration, March fourth, 1861, the political storm that had been brewing since the first issue of the slavery question raged increasingly about him. The year had closed in deepest gloom. The South

was making ready to secede and openly rejoiced that the North had chosen a "buffoon" for a President. Even the North considered him the cause of national disruption. But neither friend nor foe knew Abraham Lincoln or recognized the power of the man.

The government of which he was soon to take charge was shaken with uncertainty and indecision. Buchanan, weak, vacillating and irresolute, was an exponent of the national feelings around him. He accurately marked the public pulse. The whole nation was in an unspeakable quandary. The people had repudiated the political creed of President Buchanan, and had accorded but feeble support to the principles for which Lincoln stood. This demoralized state of public sentiment was reflected in the conflicting streams of advice which flowed upon the President-elect. Horace Greeley, the editor of the leading newspaper of that time, urged that the seceding States be permitted to go in peace; General Scott suggested that the country be divided into four distinct confederacies; the business men of the North, alarmed at so much disorder and demoralization of commerce, became loudly solicitous for concessions to the South. In the face of these conditions, no vigorous policy was possible.

Lincoln's patience and moral courage were tested to the breaking-point. All of the responsibility for the nation's wreck and ruin, as well as for its salvation, rested directly upon him, yet he was powerless to aid or thwart the designs of friends or enemies. On December twentieth, 1860, the South Carolina convention unanimously adopted the ordinance of secession. On February eighteenth, the Southern Confederacy was formed and Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President, with Alexander Stephens as Vice-President. The South was aflame with excitement and many were fascinated with the idea of taking Washington and converting it into the Confederate

Capital. The *Richmond Examiner* said: "That filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire. Our people can take it; they will take it. Scott, the arch-traitor, and Lincoln, the beast, combined cannot prevent it. The Illinois ape must retrace his journey more rapidly than he came."

On February 11th, Lincoln left Springfield for Washington. Standing on the rear platform of the car he made the following speech:

"To-day I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon General Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same Omniscient Mind and Almighty Arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me."

When he arrived in Washington, members of the Peace Congress called on him and were rebuked by this simple answer: "My course is as plain as a turnpike road. It is marked out by the Constitution. I am in no doubt which way to go with the support of the people and the assistance of the Almighty I shall undertake it." He had been elevated to the presidency on the slavery question. For years it had occupied his earnest attention. It had now brought the country to the verge of civil war and to disruption of the government. Lincoln, unswerved by prejudice or previous declarations, realized that slavery had become a subordinate issue, and that the preservation of the Union was the all-important question of the hour.

As President, he displayed no vulgar self-confidence. He was sustained by his rare temperament, by the courage which came with responsibility. His fair, plain,

simple method of arriving at conclusions saved him from the fateful doubts and blunders which would have submerged and beset a man of small calibre. He selected for his Cabinet the leaders of his party whom he had defeated. As President, he was master of the cabinet. Reticent, self-contained, he asserted himself only when occasion demanded.

William H. Seward, his Secretary of State, presumptuously prepared an inaugural address, but, without the slightest rebuke, Lincoln wrote and delivered his own address. The subject was never mentioned and the relations between the two men continued cordial. In less than a year, Lincoln accepted the resignation from the Cabinet of Simon Cameron, his Secretary of War. He astounded the government by appointing Edward M. Stanton to the vacancy. Lincoln and Stanton had met in 1855 in Cincinnati, where they were associate attorneys in a case before the Federal Court. On that occasion Stanton had treated Lincoln with the utmost disdain. Lincoln overheard him say: "Where did that long-armed creature come from and what can he expect to do in this case?" Stanton had made no effort to conceal his hostility to Lincoln's administration. Yet he possessed that dynamic force which was needed in the war office; therefore, all personal feelings were brushed aside and the appointment was made. Stanton declared that he would make a President of Lincoln; in the end, Lincoln made a good Secretary of War of Stanton. The latter learned to recognize his superior and to submit in every crisis. Stanton affords a striking background for Lincoln's magnanimity.

On April twelfth, Fort Sumter was bombarded. Instantly there was an end to all doubt and hesitancy. Those who had thought they believed in the right of secession and those who had opposed the sending of armies into the South fell into line for the Union and

for coercion. Slavery was momentarily forgotten and the North adopted Lincoln's version of the situation. "The Union! The Union!" was the cry. The vacillating and divided North was unified in a day—just as the Declaration of War on April sixth, 1917, against the German Empire quieted the present distracting elements in our own nation's political instability. Simultaneously the South was also unified. The war so long deferred had begun.

Lincoln continued unshaken throughout those days of ferment. He had foreseen the break, but the actuality shadowed his grave face with a new and deeper sadness. He had refrained from sending any troops to the South. With equal reluctance Davis had held aloof from trespassing upon the North. Both Lincoln and Davis were capable of statesmanly patience. But the firing on Fort Sumter set the armies of both sections into instant activity. Lincoln did not question his right to send United States troops to any part of the country. His theory was that a state could not secede and therefore all seceding states were but parts of the Union. In response to his call for 75,000 volunteers, the North took up the war cry of "On to Richmond!" Lincoln had offered the command of his army to the Virginian, Robert E. Lee—that aristocratic Southern gentleman who called *duty* the "sublimest word in the English language." With characteristic strength of purpose, Lee declared that he would take no part in an invasion of the Southern States, although himself opposed to secession. He later became the hero of the South and one of the greatest generals ever produced by America.

On the day after the battle of Bull Run, Lincoln summoned General George B. McClellan to Washington and appointed him Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States. McClellan had seen service in the

Mexican War and witnessed the siege of Sebastopol, where he had been sent as Secretary of War under Buchanan. Ranking next to the President, he at once arrogated to himself the importance of the savior of his country, yet continued a do-nothing policy when popular clamor demanded a movement on Richmond. The President was finally constrained to urge him into action, saying that if McClellan did not want to use the army he would like to borrow it.

Lincoln then began that long search for a capable commander of initiative genius and fighting ability to cope with the brilliant strategy of Robert E. Lee. The time speedily came when McClellan was superseded by Halleck. Lincoln had that rarest virtue among men in public life—political unselfishness. At no time during all the war did he manipulate any maneuver or movement of the army for the purpose of bringing credit or glory to himself. He removed McClellan, but instantly reinstated him when the occasion demanded it. The President was honest, unselfish and able, but not unerring in military matters. Although a discriminating judge of human character in general, he was repeatedly unfortunate in his choice of commanders-in-chief. General Burnside and Major-General Joseph Hooker in turn followed Halleck. But Lee was winning such signal success over Hooker that an invasion toward Gettysburg was planned and immediately put into execution. Lincoln removed Hooker and gave the command to Meade. The battle of Gettysburg was the beginning of the turn. Meade fought valiantly and successfully, but failed to follow up his victory as Lincoln thought he should have done. It was apparent that he had not yet found the man to defeat Lee. He had tested four veterans of the North and the East, and now, in the hour of desperation, dimly outlined on the Western horizon, there appeared the prodigious figure of Ulysses S. Grant. It was with a warm feeling in his heart that

Lincoln welcomed a man born in his own State who was finally to cope with the battle-winning generalship of Lee.

Lee was persistently invading northern territory and plunging into great battles, followed by extraordinary events at Washington. The battle of Antietam, one of the bloodiest engagements of the entire Civil War, was followed by the Emancipation Proclamation. The battle of Gettysburg was followed by the elevation of Grant to the supreme command of the federal armies. These two events, the Emancipation Proclamation and the promotion of General Grant, were far-reaching and consequential—outweighing in importance all other occurrences of the Civil War. The prime mover in them was Abraham Lincoln. After the battle of Gettysburg, General Rushling, who fought in that battle, relates that Lincoln said to him: "The fact is, in the very pinch of that battle, I went to my room and got down on my knees, and prayed Almighty God for victory. I told God that this was His country, and the war was His war, but that we couldn't stand another Fredericksburg or Chancellorsville. And then and there I made a solemn vow with my Maker that if He would stand by your boys at Gettysburg, I would stand by Him."

Lincoln also made a vow to Heaven that if Lee were driven back from Maryland he would issue his proclamation of freedom to the slaves. Secretary Stanton has left the following interesting account of the first reading of the Proclamation to the Cabinet:

> "It was on September twenty-second, 1862, when the cabinet members assembled, not knowing for what purpose they had been called together. The President slowly and deliberately and to their amazement and disgust read to them three chapter from Artemus Ward. No one laughed. At last the President threw down the book, heaved a sigh and said: 'Gentlemen,

why don't you laugh? With the fearful strain that is upon me night and day, if I did not laugh I should die, and you need this medicine as much as I do.'

"He then put his hand in his tall beaver hat that sat upon the table and pulled out a little paper. Turning to the members of the cabinet, he said:

" 'Gentlemen, I have called you here upon very important business. I have prepared a little paper of much significance. I have made up my mind that this paper is to issue; that the time has come when it should issue; that the people are ready for it to issue. It is due my cabinet that you should be the first to hear and know of it, and if any of you have any suggestions to make as to the form of this paper, or its composition, I shall be glad to hear them. But the paper is to issue.'

"I have always tried to be calm," says Secretary Stanton, "but I think I lost my calmness for a moment, and with great enthusiasm I rose, approached the President, extended my hand and said: 'Mr. President, if the reading of chapters of Artemus Ward is a prelude to such a deed as this, the book should be filed among the archives of the nation, and the author should be canonized.' And all said 'Amen.' "

The Battle of Gettysburg was followed by a bill passed by Congress in February, 1864, providing that the President appoint a Lieutenant-General to command the armies of the United States. Ulysses S. Grant was called to the exalted rank previously held only by George Washington. Grant had been victorious in the West, and Lincoln realized that under his leadership the army of the Potomac might vanquish the South. He justly appraised Grant's value and was deaf to the calumniators of the pugnacious fighter from Missouri. Lincoln had learned by bitter ex-

perience to give little value to the military judgment of editors and scheming politicians. He thought fairly and accurately and never as a bigot or partisan. He answered a charge that Grant was intoxicated by inquiring what brand of whisky he used, as he desired to send a barrel of it to some of the other generals.

Grant arrived in Washington on March eighth, and frankly stipulating that he was to be free from all interference, assumed personal control of the campaign in Virginia.

During those bloody battles fought between Grant and Lee, Lincoln's second presidential campaign took place. Notwithstanding the slander of politicians who hated him in proportion to his contempt for them, Lincoln was re-elected. Deeply grateful for the confidence of the people, he said: "If I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of anyone opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone; but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

Lincoln's second inaugural address has taken its place among the most famous of all written or spoken compositions in the English language. After reading it, the editor of *The London Spectator* said: "Abraham Lincoln is the greatest master of English prose." The following excerpt reveals his noble purpose and his grasp of the issues of the day:

> "Fondly we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago,

so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are now in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

As President Lincoln entered upon his second term, there were many outside efforts to terminate the war through compromise, emanating from both the North and the South. Francis P. Blair—Missouri's junior Senator—obtained from Lincoln, almost under subterfuge, a permit "to pass our lines, go South and return." In fact, he consulted with Jefferson Davis and proposed that both sides come to amicable terms for the purpose of sending an expedition under the leadership of Davis to Mexico to expel Maxmilian. Davis merely gave Blair a short letter expressing a willingness to send or receive agents "with a view to secure peace to the two countries." Lincoln then gave Blair a letter stating that he would meet informally agents sent him "with the view of securing peace to the people of our common country." The closing words of the two letters showed that Lincoln and Davis were, as ever, politically antipodal.

Lincoln attended the Hampton Roads meeting. After four hours of debate, he was unyielding for the Union, and the others for the disunion. It was currently reported that Lincoln wrote the word "Union" and offered his visitors from the South carte blanche to write beneath it any terms whatever.

Five days after the surrender of the Confederate Army, Abraham Lincoln died as he had lived—a martyr. J. Wilkes Booth—a fanatical and dissipated actor—assas-

sinated him in the President's box at Ford's Theater, on the evening of April 14th, 1865. The South thus lost it greatest friend, for had he lived she would never have suffered the trials of the reconstruction period, which have disgraced the pages of American history.

Abraham Lincoln was the pivotal point around which the Civil War revolved. It was that war which "left the mooted question of national unity so firmly settled that only sporadic and unconsequential voices have since debated the final result." The passion of Lincoln's Americanism and his ardent devotion to the Union are revealed in the following address delivered by him at the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg. Although delivered from impromptu notes jotted down while en route to Gettysburg, it is a revelation of his great soul expressed in classic words:

> "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor powers to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so

> nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

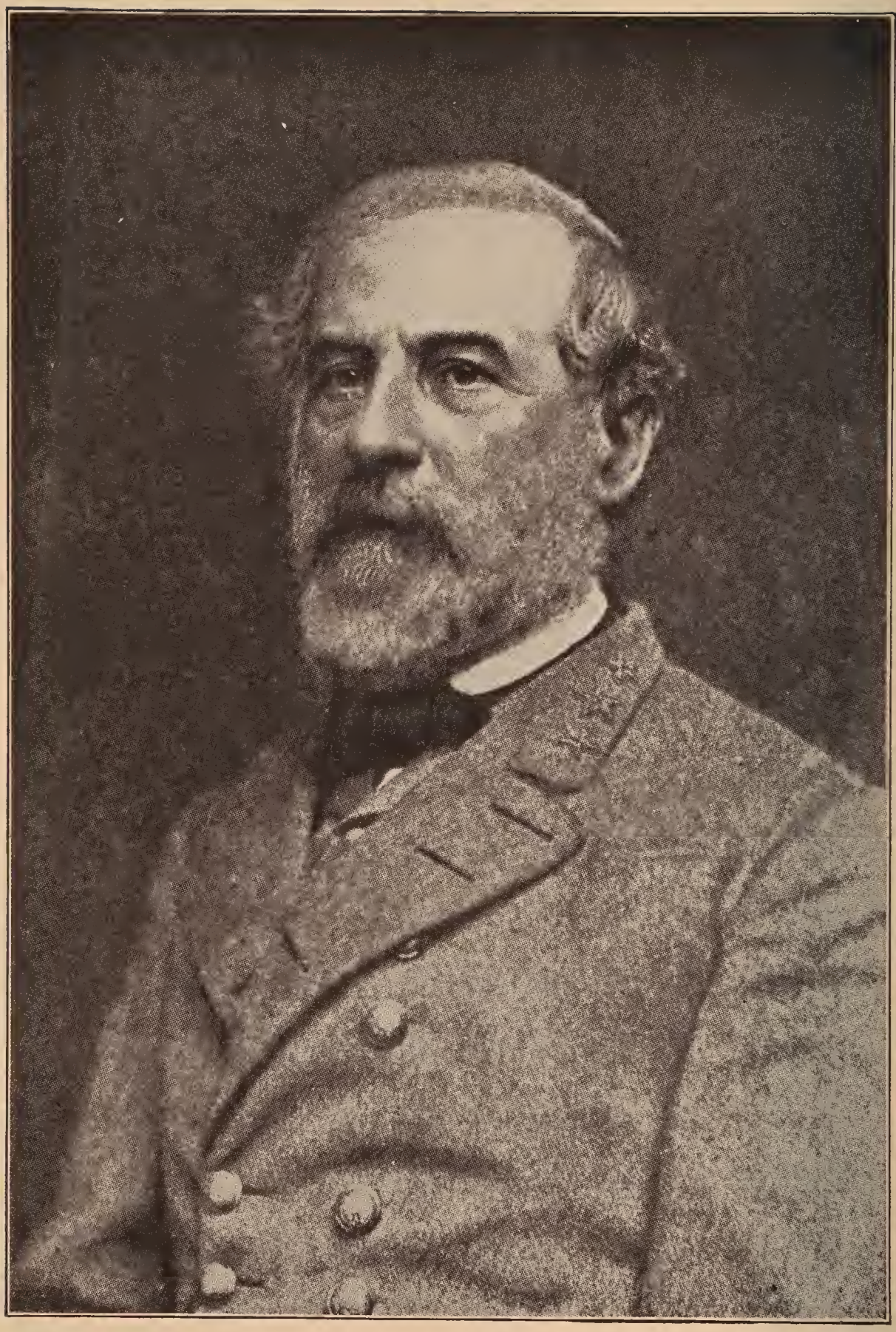
If no other record of Lincoln's life remained than these words, the world would recognize his greatness and know that he had given statesmanship a new and nobler meaning.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right," Lincoln lived and died a patriot and a martyr. Though of lowly origin, his character and services have placed him high in the annals of American history and endeared him to all hearts. Lincoln will ever be an inspiration to Americans and to the people of all nations.

Home of Lincoln's early youth, Elizabethtown, Kentucky, In this house his mother died when Lincoln was nine years old.

Home of Lincoln, Coles County, Illinois. In this house Lincoln lived when he became of age. While living here he broke up fifteen acres of sod with oxen and split the rails destined to make him immortal.

Home of Lincoln 1861-65—White House.



ROBERT E. LEE

ROBERT E. LEE

THE CHIVALROUS SOUTHERN HERO

1807-1870

ROBERT E. LEE loved his native state, Virginia, with a devotion equal to that of Bismarck for Prussia. When called upon to defend her, he answered the call and unsheathed his sword in her behalf. *Duty* was the impelling power in the life of Lee. He wrote to his son: "Duty is the sublimest word in our language," and he felt that his first and most sacred duty was loyalty to his state. Lincoln and Lee were both patriots. Lee interpreted his patriotic duty to be first to his state, while Lincoln interpreted his first and most sacred duty to be that of serving his nation.

General Henry Lee, the father of Robert, was a valiant Revolutionary soldier, an impassioned patriot, a classic scholar, and a thrilling orator. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; also Governor of Virginia. He was impetuous and hot-headed, had many warm friends and bitter enemies. It is said that once when ill, he became angry at his negro servant and threw his boot at her. She threw it back at him, and thus won his admiration. His son Robert flung no boots nor had any flung at him. Henry Lee was the beloved friend of Patrick Henry, Nathaniel Green and George Washington, who affectionately called him "Light Horse Harry." Lee and Washington were wealthy farmers and neighbors. Lee's wife was Ann Hall Carter. It is said that Robert Lee owed his greatness to his father's blood and his goodness to that of his mother.

Perhaps because Robert E. Lee came to greatness so late in life, little is known of his early training. At eighteen he entered West Point, where he stood high in his classes. His conduct was irreproachable. His temperance and self-control in moral matters are doubly creditable, when we read the statement made by Colonel Thayer, superintendent of West Point at that time, to President Adams, as to the drunkenness and dissipation generally prevalent among the young cadets. A distaste for profanity existed in Lee throughout his life. A conversation between him and General Wise is often quoted. Wise had damned an intruding civilian out of camp. Lee dined with him later and suggested that they walk into the graden. Lee began: "Wise, you know as well as I do what the army regulations say about profanity. As an old friend, let me ask you if that dreadful habit cannot be broken?" Wise, seeing that he was due a sermon replied: "Now, I am perfectly willing that you and Jackson shall do the praying for the whole army of Northern Virginia, but in Heaven's name, let me do the cussin' for one small brigade."

Immediately after his graduation from West Point he received an appointment in the Engineer Corps, and was stationed for some years at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. It was during this time that he met the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington—Mary Lee Custis—whom he married at Arlington in June of 1831, and through whom, several years later, he came into control of extensive property, including farms, mansions and a number of slaves.

Lee followed his profession of military engineer until the outbreak of the Mexican War. He rose from captain, in which rank he served in the battle of Buena Vista, to colonel at Chapultepec. From the beginning to the end of the war he displayed energy, daring and resource, and won for himself the distinction of being a great general.

During the years of violent controversy which preceded

the secession of the South, he attended quietly to his military duties. But the realization that sooner or later he would be forced to choose one party or the other and actively defend its principles was a heavy burden upon his mind. Neither party satisfied him, for each seemed inconsiderate of the rights and feelings of the other. In December, 1859, he wrote: "Feeling the aggression of the North, resenting their denial of the equal rights of our citizens to the common territory of the Commonwealth, I am not pleased with the course of the 'Cotton States,' as they term themselves. In addition to their selfish, dictatorial bearing, the threats they throw out against the 'Border States,' as they call them, if they will not join them, argues little for the benefit of peace of Virginia, should she determine to coalesce with them. While I wish to do what is right, I am unwilling to do what is wrong at the bidding of the South or of the North."

At that time many able men of the North advocated the right of secession and the peaceable separation of the two sections. Wendell Phillips—an ardent anti-slavist—said: "Here are a series of states girding the gulf who think their peculiarisms require a separate government. They have a right to decide that question without appealing to me or you." The New York *Tribune* advocated the reconstruction of the Union with New England left out. Horace Greeley wrote: "If the cotton states choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear right to do so."

Many Americans believed that no state should be coerced by the government at Washington. After the election of Lincoln came the first intimation that a seceding state might be coerced back into the Union. It was a bold, startling stroke, new to the country. It elicited from Horace Greeley the vigorous declaration, "Soldiers marching into the South for any such unholy purpose would be

fired upon in the rear by Northern men who believe in the sacred right of secession."

Secession was the vital question of the Civil War; slavery was secondary and today the North and the South rejoice equally that these two colossal issues were settled forever.

Lee said when he was asked whether the issue of the war would perpetuate the institution of slavery, "The future is in the hands of Providence. If the slaves of the South were mine, I would surrender them all without a struggle to avert this war."

The bombardment of Fort Sumter opened the Civil War. Lincoln called upon the states of the Union for 75,000 troops of their militia. At the urgent recommendation of General Winfield Scott, who said, "Robert E. Lee is the greatest soldier now living," President Lincoln offered Lee the command of the United States army. The secession of Virginia two days later gave Lee to the South. After an agonizing mental struggle, he refused the honor proffered by the President. The difficulties of decision placed him in a position involving a profounder moral struggle than can be realized. For thirty years he had served under the Stars and Stripes. Honor, advancement, profit were assured should he remain with the United States. Should he choose to go with the South, what would come to him no one could tell. Mrs. Lee relates of his mental strife:

"The night his letter of resignation was to be written, he asked to be left alone for a time, and while he paced the chamber above and was heard frequently to fall upon his knees and engage in prayer for divine guidance, I waited and watched and prayed below. At last he came down, calm, collected, almost cheerful, and said, 'Well, Mary, the question is settled. Here is my letter of resignation and a letter I have written to General Scott.'" Lee had

STONE MOUNTAIN MEMORIAL—THE SOUTH'S MONUMENT TO THE CONFEDERACY.

Stone Mountain is eighteen miles east of Atlanta, Georgia. It is a solid mass of granite 1000 feet high and more than a mile long. Upon its face is being carved a memorial to the Confederacy at an expenditure of $2,000,000. Groups of Confederate Artillery, Infantry and Cavalry will make up the entire plan. The central figure of the central group will be a statue of General Robert E. Lee; its height from the top of the hat to the hoof of the horse upon which he is mounted will be 185 feet—equal to the height of a sixteen story building.

settled the question once and for all and in all his correspondence or conversation there is nothing to indicate regret. Said he: "Trusting in God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow citizens, I accept the command of the armies of Virginia." He afterwards wrote: "I declined the offer made me to take command of the army,—stating as candidly and courageously as I could, that, though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States." Later he was put in command of the military forces of Virginia.

General Lee was then in the prime of his splendid physical and mental manhood. He was six feet tall, strong, supple, and in perfect health. His mustache was dark and heavy, and his hair was as yet scarcely touched by the frost which whitened it before the end of the year. His military bearing said to all, Here is a master, a Sir Galahad,

> "Whose strength was as the strength of ten,
> Because his heart was pure."

Lee understood at once the burdens and responsibilities of the Southern Confederacy, which had just been formed out of the states of Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. Lee's active participation with the army of northern Virginia began in the spring of 1862. General Joseph E. Johnston and General G. W. Smith outranked him, until the one was wounded and the other became ill. On June first, 1862, he was put in general command of the southern army by Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. The hand of a master strategist was at once revealed.

Lee forthwith sent the following astounding order to Thomas J. Jackson ("Stonewall"): "Leave your en-

feebled troops to watch the country and guard the passes, and with your main body move rapidly to Ashland by rail or otherwise, and sweep down between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey, cutting off the enemy's communications, while this army attacks McClellan in front." It was a bold, pugnacious, inspiriting stroke. It meant fighting and scientific military maneuvering. It thrilled the South and the Confederate army and delighted the combative Jackson. Jackson was repeatedly given charge of Lee's most delicate and difficult strategies. It was when he met the Union forces on the field of Bull Run, that by his pugnacious resistance at the critical moment in the battle he won the sobriquet "Stonewall." In the thick of the fight an under-officer asked, "Where is General Jackson?" "There he stands like a stonewall." Jackson and Johnston had fought with Lee in the Mexican War and when Virginia seceded, the three with fidelity to state as their ruling passion, cast their lot with the South—Johnston resigning a high commission in the United States Army. "Stonewall" Jackson and Joseph E. Johnston personified the typical Virginia gentleman. They were chivalrous, devout, fearless, magnanimous, conscientious—characteristics embodied in the typical Southerner of the old school.

Lee understood that McClellan's tactics involved a slow, gradual approach upon Richmond. He promptly forestalled this possible danger by erecting impregnable works about the city. At the same time he took the offensive against McClellan and drove him back in the terrible battle of Gaines' Mill. He did not succeed in capturing the Federal army, for the Union forces held Malvern Hill against the fierce onslaughts of the Confederates and reached their gunboats on the James River in safety.

In this battle Lee wielded and controlled his tremendous forces as complacently and easily as the engineer on a locomotive manipulates his levers. Time and again

he checkmated the movements of the Union commanders—McClellan, Burnside, Pope and Hooker. He understood them all and in nearly every case anticipated their plans and purposes. His fame as a great military genius and far-seeing strategist may be traced to his insight into the motives and purposes of his several and dissimilar antagonists, as well as his quick initiative and tenacious pugnacity.

Scarcely three months had elapsed after Lee assumed command until the way seemed open and the time opportune for the invasion of Maryland. When, by a strange mishap, his plans fell into the hands of McClellan, he quickly changed them. With forty thousand men he met McClellan, who had eighty-seven thousand men, in one of the bloodiest engagements ever fought on this continent—the battle of Antietam. Lee's intrepidity saved him. His men sank down to rest at nightfall on the line of battle, so exhausted that they could not be awakened to eat their rations. The officers, faint with hunger and sickened with the awful slaughter, looked forward with apprehension to the morrow, but from one indomitable heart the hope of victory had not vanished. When Lee called his officers before him, each advised immediate retreat across the Potomac. After Jackson, Longstreet and other officers had given their opinions, there was an appalling silence. Lee, rising erect in his stirrups, said: "Gentlemen, we will not cross the Potomac tonight. If McClellan wants to fight in the morning, I will give him battle." All the next day Lee watched and waited, but McClellan did not accept the challenge and Lee recrossed into Virginia unmolested. President Lincoln, astute and penetrating, afterwards asked McClellan what the outcome at Antietam would have been could the North and South have exchanged generals.

A number of prominent leaders of the South, who did

not like Jefferson Davis, visited Lee at his camp early in 1863, and urged him to consider the proposition of succeeding Davis as President of the Confederacy. "Never," Lee replied. *"That,* gentlemen, I will never permit. Whatever talents I may possess are military. I think the military and civil talents are distinct. I shall not do the people the injustice to accept high civil office, with whose questions it has not been my business to become familiar." "But, General Lee, history does not sustain your view. Cæsar and Frederick of Prussia and Bonaparte were great statesmen as well as great generals."—"And great tyrants," Lee promptly replied. "But Washington was both and yet not a tyrant." Lee replied, "Washington was an exception to all rules."

Notwithstanding the loss of his ablest lieutenant—"Stonewall" Jackson—Lee dauntlessly determined upon his second invasion of northern territory. This was the greatest military move in his career and culminated in the three days' holocaust at Gettysburg.

Lee's broad comprehension discerned the immediate necessity of striking a quick, terrible blow in defense of Richmond. In the Far West, Grant was tenaciously beleaguering Vicksburg, where he was destined to win, even as he had won at Fort Donelson and at Shiloh.

General Lee's outlines of his campaigns were intense mental visions and his visions were not mere dreams. Each sally was a mathematical problem. Whether advancing or retreating, it conformed to the art and science of the civil engineer, and he was ever alert to alter and revamp his plans. No warrior, not even Napoleon, possessed a more vivid imagination or concise knowledge of military tactics. The Gettysburg campaign was thoroughly matured, but his orders were instantaneously modified or wholly changed as the exigencies of the march or battlefield required.

The invasion has been characterized as "splendid audacity," but Lee's audacity was justified by his confidence in his own ability, and in the steadfast courage and intrepid valor of his army, which had been tried many times in the fiery furnace. Charles Francis Adams, a conspicuous Northerner, said: "I do not believe that any more formidable or better organization and animated force was ever set in motion than that which Lee led across the Potomac in the early summer of 1863. It was essentially an army of fighters."

The campaign was planned with consummate skill and pursued with keen strategy and daring. Critics agree that its failure may be attributed to a lack of dependable support at a critical moment on the part of his generals—chiefly J. E. B. Stuart and "Old War Horse" (Longstreet).

We are not so much concerned here with the details of the conflict at Gettysburg as with the man whose tremendous genius occasioned it. This battle, the greatest ever fought on American soil, was conducted by a man who was pre-eminently a lover of peace. Lee became involved in the struggle of his nation when it was rocked to its foundation with civil strife. When summoned to the harsh rude work of the warrior, he had no lust for battle. On the eve of the invasion of the North, he wrote to his wife: "The country here looks very green and pretty, notwithstanding the ravages of war. What a beautiful world God in His loving kindness to his creatures has given us. What a shame that men endowed with reason and knowledge of right should mar His gifts."

When the battle of Gettysburg was over and while the squadrons yet waited wearily for orders, the commander, disconsolate and with a great pity in his heart, stood by his noble gray horse—"Traveler"—with the bridle rein over his arm—a figure as pathetic as that of King David

after the flight from Jerusalem—when General Pickett came up and said: "General, my noble division has been swept away." The great chieftain replied: "It was all my fault, all my fault!" But his depression passed quickly, and he said with decision: "We must go back to Virginia." The order was issued, but for twenty-four hours Lee's army remained in position on the field of Gettysburg, and was not attacked.

The retreat was conducted as skillfully and deliberately as the invasion itself. The zeal of the battle was unabated in the General and his men. Meade was too wary to attack the retreating lion. When Lee reached the Potomac, he found the river a seething flood, and camped on its banks for ten days, undisturbed by attack from Meade.

Generously and magnanimously Lee assumed the whole responsibility for the tragedy at Gettysburg. He had no word of censure for the generals who had failed him at the critical moment, though his declaration that he would have won at Gettysburg had "Stonewall" Jackson lived, expressed the sentiment of the entire South. His sincerity in assuming the responsibility for the Gettysburg defeat was proved by an immediate offer to resign his command. The following letter written to Jefferson Davis reveals his unselfish spirit:

"Camp Orange, August 8, 1863.

"Mr. President:

"I am extremely obliged to you for the attention given to the wants of the army and the efforts made to supply them. Our absentees are returning, and I hope the earnest and beautiful appeal made to the country in your proclamation may stir up the whole people, and that they may see their duty and perform it. Nothing is wanted but that their fortitude should equal their bravery to insure the success of our cause. We must expect reverses, even defeats. . . . The general remedy for want of success in a military commander is his removal. . . .

"I have been prompted by these reflections more than once since my return from Pennsylvania to propose to your Excellency the propriety of selecting another commander for the army. I have seen and heard expressions of discontent in the public journals as the result of the expedition. I do not know how far this feeling extends to the army. My brother officers have been too kind to report it and so far the troops have been too generous to exhibit it. But it is fair, however, to suppose that it exists, and success is so necessary to us that nothing should be left undone to secure it. . . .

"Everything, therefore, points to the advantage to be derived from a new commander, and I the more anxiously urge the matter upon your Excellency from my belief that a younger and abler man than myself can be readily obtained. I know he will have as gallant and brave an army as ever existed to second his efforts, and it would be the happiest day of my life to see at its head a worthy leader—one that would accomplish more than I can perform, and all that I have wished. . . .

"Very respectfully and truly yours,

"R. E. Lee.

"General."

In Mr. Davis' reply occurs this sentence: "To ask me to substitute for you some one, in my judgment, more fit to command, or who would possess more the confidence of the army, or of the reflecting men of the country, is to demand an impossibility."

At this time President Lincoln arrived at the conclusion that Lee's *army* rather than *Richmond* was the necessary objective. He realized that the South could never be subdued, while Lee was in the field. Lee said at Gettysburg: "There is the enemy. I will whip him or he will whip me." Lincoln said: "There is Lee. We must destroy him or he will destroy us." Perhaps Lincoln did not know that

Lee was utterly helpless to project another invasion; he did not know that his soldiers were hungry, barefooted, and physically exhausted. Perhaps he did not realize that General Lee himself had many meals of cabbage alone and joked with his soldiers about borrowing a piece of bacon when he entertained guests. But the President did know that Meade was incapable of defeating Lee. He removed him and put in his place the fighter from Missouri—U. S. Grant—who coincided with Lincoln and made Lee's army his true objective, and not Richmond.

These two men had not met in battle until now. Grant perceived immediately that no generalship could prevail against Lee—the master of strategy. He determined upon a new policy of giving two men for one, or three for one, if necessary four for one. Only by continual hammering could he destroy Lee and subdue the South. Knowing his ability to continue these tactics indefinitely, he began with the battle of the "Wilderness," and followed with what was known as the "Overland Campaign." With acute military foresight, Lee anticipated move after move made by Grant. Many military experts accord to Lee greater genius in the science of warfare than the hero of Appomattox. He met every move made by his able antagonist with the tactics of a Napoleon.

After Grant had been for six days in a deadly grapple with Lee at the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, he sent to Washington his famous dispatch: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." This was on May eleventh, 1864. The battle of Spottsylvania was resumed and concluded the next day, after twenty-four hours of dreadful fighting, chiefly at the "Angle of Death—one hideous Golgotha," yet with no marked advantages to Grant. His next purpose was to place himself between Lee and Richmond, but Lee again anticipated his skillful foe, and quickly transferred his

army from the rear to the front of the northern army. It was one of the most brilliant movements in the annals of warfare. When Grant's leading column under Hancock arrived at North Anna, Lee was entrenched across the path. Finally, in this strategic race, Grant found Lee posted at Hanover Court House—the fourth time since Spottsylvania that Lee had thwarted his plans.

Grant spent many anxious, uneasy hours seeking to outmaneuver his opponent, and was balked time and again. At Cold Harbor, Grant's gallant army of the Potomac was sent repeatedly against Lee's steadfast lines, and was as often thrown back. Flesh and blood could stand no more. Again Grant ordered the army to move forward. It quailed and lay still, immovable—a silent but unanimous disobedience. This was Grant's most disastrous and distressing experience and he suffered the deepest apprehensions that ever stirred his soul.

Lee won victory after victory, although confronted by vastly superior forces. Every victory was followed by a retreat, until the last days of the struggle occurred in the siege of Petersburg and Richmond—a campaign which, to quote Jefferson Davis, "was too sad to be patiently considered." Lee's lines grew steadily thinner under the wasting of battle, famine and sickness, while Grant's lines were as constantly refilled. Grant's policy of "hammering"—his own expression—continued with unabating tenacity; steadily, unremittingly the attrition went on. Lee rose to grander heights of strategy as the situation grew more desperate. He sent General Early with a detachment to threaten Washington, but this skillful maneuver only delayed the fateful day. "Valor may be indefinite, but endurance has its limitations!"

On the last day of the defense of Richmond, Lee was unshaken and undismayed. His veterans, a mere handful of spectres, abandoned the trenches, fully believing their leader was now to lure Grant to his destruction.

"In the two weeks between Lee's desperate effort to break Grant's right, and their personal meeting at Appomattox, where Lee's surrender took place, both Lee and Grant reached their zenith. In Lee every high quality which had enabled him to carry the Confederacy on his shoulders for more than two years shone forth. In Grant noble and hitherto unsuspected qualities discovered themselves." Up to this time both North and South had looked upon Grant as a sort of reincarnation of some pagan warrior from the ruthless dark ages. Now, in the presence of his great antagonist, his magnanimity in the hour of victory equalled his implacable sternness and terrible onslaught and efficiency on the field of battle.

"You will take with you," said Lee, in his farewell address to his veterans, "the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed." Ever, ever the word *duty*. As Lee turned from Appomattox and rode away, he contemplated, without dismay, the obscurity which defeated greatness covets. Without a trace of rancor, he returned to his home in Richmond. He dismounted from his faithful horse and patted the neck of the noble animal affectionately. As he entered his yard, his dog was the first to recognize him. Richmond rejoiced as if a conquering hero had entered her gates. His first recorded words after reaching his home was a tribute to his victorious opponent: "General Grant has acted with magnanimity."

Lee's agony will never be known. In his last conference with his officers, he said at its conclusion: "I must see Grant. I would rather die a thousand deaths than to surrender this army." If Lee suffered so acutely at that hour of humiliation, what must have been his agony of spirit in the days of delirium that followed the assassination of Lincoln? What must he have endured during the years of reconstruction, when cupidity and un-

soldierly fanaticism wrecked so terrible a vengeance upon the South? But he went through it all with the patience and poise of a loyal American patriot, ever admonishing and advising his people to be good citizens and to bear their misfortunes uncomplainingly.

Grand juries sought to indict him, and a Congressional Committee summoned him to appear in Washington. There he was harassed with impertinent questions, but not for one moment was his splendid equipoise disturbed. He stood before Congress one of the greatest moral heroes of history, a man of such dignity and nobility that Congress was deeply moved.

Lee declared that as the decision of the war had been against the South, it was, in his opinion, "the part of wisdom to acquiesce in the result, and of candor to recognize the fact." Said he: "I have invariably recommended this course since the cessation of hostilities, and have endeavored to practise it myself." He lived to rejoice that the Union was preserved, and today the men who followed Lee are vying with the men who followed Grant in loyal devotion to the Union and to our country's flag.

To his old soldiers who had not been able to secure employment and who were somewhat embittered, Lee wrote: "I am sorry to hear that our returned soldiers cannot obtain employment. Tell them they must all set to work and if they cannot do what they prefer, do what they can. Virginia wants all her sons to sustain and recuperate her. . . . Don't bring up your sons to detest the United States Government. Recollect that we form one country now. Abandon all local animosities and *make your sons Americans!*"

During the war the devoted loyalty of the southern army to its commander had become something akin to worship. He had shielded them and protected them when

they were poorly clothed and fed, and often delayed battles that they might rest on the Sabbath and hear words of comfort and cheer from their chaplains. Such consideration could come only from a commander who loved his army as if they were his children. And General Lee never forgot his old comrades. In 1869, he said to a confederate officer, who was touring the South, "You will meet many of my old soldiers during your trip; I wish you to tell them that I often think of them, try every day to pray for them, and am always gratified to hear of their prosperity."

Many business positions of high trust and dignity were pressed upon General Lee after his surrender. He was solicited to become president of an insurance company at an annual salary of $50,000. He declined the offer on the grounds that he was not familiar with that kind of work. "But, General," said the gentleman who represented the company, "you will not be expected to do any work; what we desire is the use of your name." Lee replied that "his name was not for sale." Thomas Nelson Page, in referring to this incident, said: "Amid the commercialism of the present age, this sounds as refreshing as the oath of a Knight of the Round Table."

After refusing the highest official position within the gift of Virginia, he was persuaded to accept the Presidency of Washington College at Lexington. In accepting this office, he wrote, "I have led the young men of the South in battle; I have seen many of them die on the field; I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life."

At that time the college consisted of four professors and forty students. Lee's great name brought many students, and the college was renamed Washington and Lee University.

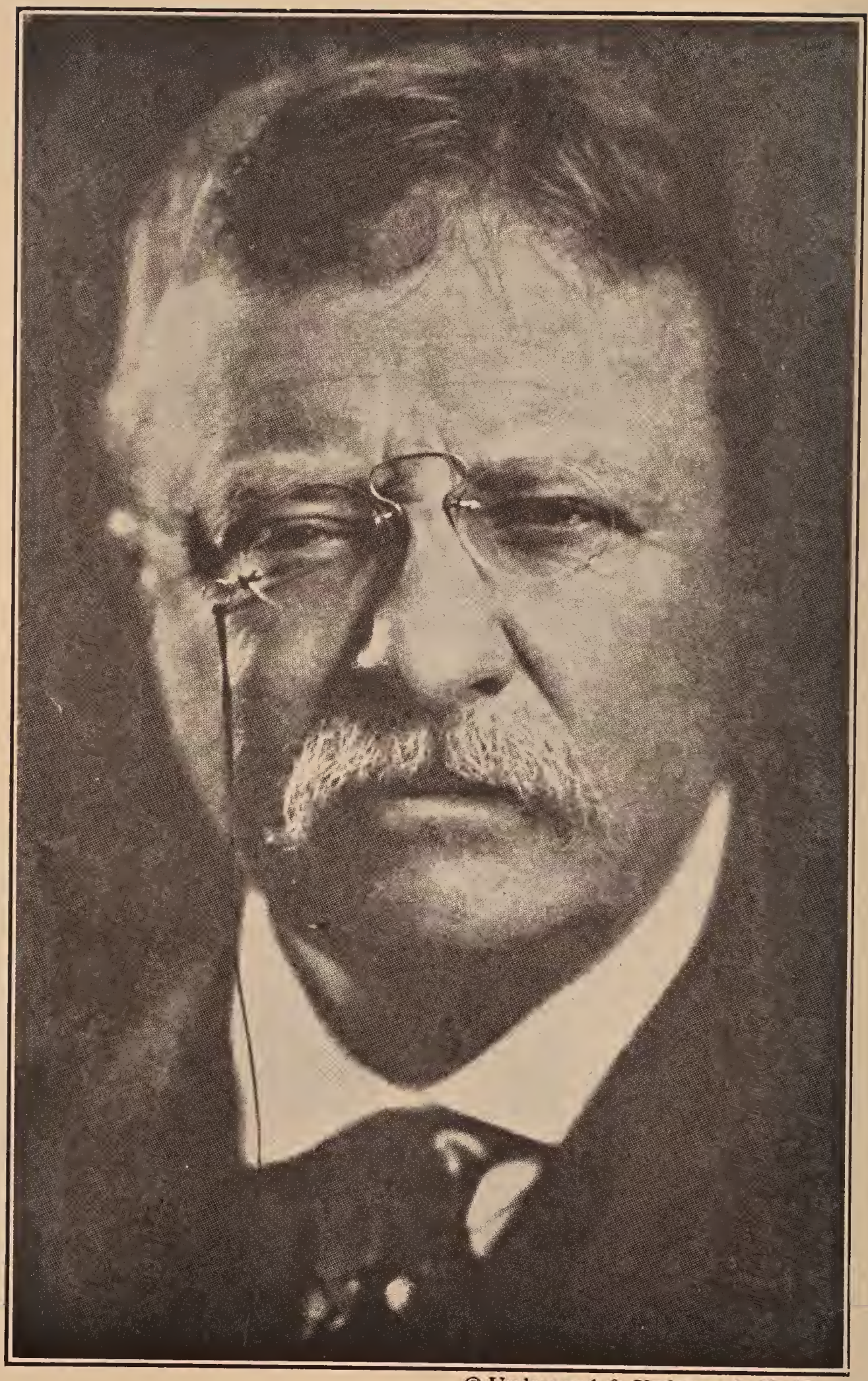
Lee died on the morning of October twelfth, 1870—

five years after his surrender. U. S. Grant was not a truer, more consistent and loyal American during this time than was the man who handed him his sword at Appomattox.

The love and esteem in which the State of Virginia holds Robert E. Lee was shown when she selected her two favorite sons to represent her in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. A long list of great Virginians were considered, among whom were James Madison, James Monroe, Thomas Marshall, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. But the final vote of the Legislature unanimously selected George Washington and Robert E. Lee.

The growing respect and admiration of Robert E. Lee by the North, as well as the South, is evidenced by the recent erection of a heroic statue of Lee on the battlefield of Gettysburg. The President of the United States delivered the dedication address on the occasion of its unveiling.

Goodness and bravery, leadership and generalship, citizenship and patriotism, purity and devoutness were sanctified and hallowed by the greatness of spirit, nobility of soul and unpretentious modesty of the favorite and greatest hero of the South—Robert E. Lee.



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COL. ROOSEVELT AS THE NATION WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER HIM.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE UNSTAMPEDABLE DRIVING AMERICAN STATESMAN, THE EMBODIMENT OF INTELLIGENT CITIZENSHIP AND IDEAL PATRIOTISM.

1858-1919.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S life exemplifies that a man in this country of opportunity can become eminently successful in many vocations.

He was a rancher, hunter, author, army officer, cabinet official, governor, vice president and president of the United States. In all these fields of human endeavor he was successful.

His life furnishes a remarkable example of distinct achievement in varied vocations. He was a universal genius. He was the most prolific and myriad minded, with a wider scope of knowledge than any man that has ever occupied the White House. Roosevelt's life is the record of a typical American in whom the principles of citizenship and patriotism reached extraordinary development.

Linked with the physical and intellectual accomplishments of Roosevelt was unusual moral activity which is necessary for a well rounded man. Honesty of purpose and an elevated sense of public duty were leading features of his character. He had a profound respect for his fellowmen reinforcing his love for his home, country and God.

His passion for settling national and international issues led him to act hastily at times, but his moral energy and granitic integrity was of greater value than any a-

mount of policy and expediency which too often characterize politicians. Roosevelt's motto was—Thoroughly plan the work in hand, with immediateness of action, continuing everlastingly at it until the task is completed.

Roosevelt closed one period and opened another, personifying the best of both. He closed the period of national deterioration of the Nation's morale that followed the Civil War; and opened the era of the "Square Deal."

There was heroic blood of the south as well as the north flowing in the veins of Theodore Roosevelt. He was born in New York City, Oct. 27, 1858. A dogged perseverance and an indomitable will built a strong man from a frail, asthmatic child, moreover it was the cultivating of a determinant mind that made him a fearless doer.

The Roosevelts were one of the oldest Dutch-American families. Teddy was a direct descendant of Claes Martenzon Rosenwelt, who came to America in 1649. (The present spelling was adopted in 1750). The family for generations were successful business men, in few instances did any of them enter politics. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., was influential. Early in life he retired from active business and devoted his entire time to philanthropy. "The best man I ever knew," his son wrote of him in later years. When he died the flags of New York City were lowered at half mast in honor of their modest kind hearted private citizen.

Theodore, Junior's mother was Martha Bullock, a daughter of Major Bullock, a brave Confederate officer of the Civil War, and granddaughter of General Daniel Stewart of Revolutionary fame. Teddy's mother was proud of her southern aristocratic blood. Her son testified, "She was a sweet, gracious, beautiful southern woman, a delightful companion and beloved by everyone, but she was an 'unreconstructed rebel' to the day of her death."

Young Roosevelt's life was a golden link between the

north and south. Neither family connection nor the propitious times in which he lived could have given the Roosevelt we know, except for those extraordinary qualities of a clear head, a true heart and a devout spirit which the world now recognizes as a legacy and heritage.

At the time of his birth, Civil War clouds were soon to break in fury over the country. The war ran its bloody course and came to an end before he was old enough to go to school. But the dark shadow of the Civil War long lay upon the land and was scarcely lifted at the time Roosevelt entered the White House. At once he began to be a mighty influence in regenerating the country that was deteriorated by the effects that naturally follow as an aftermath of war.

The boy, Teddy, foreshadowed the man he came to be. As a boy he made collections and maintained what he proudly called "The Roosevelt Museum," collecting specimens along the beach, on the brinks of the rivers and ponds of Manhattan Island. Nothing in the neighborhood of New York escaped this eager young naturalist, a boyish delight that became an avocation in his manhood, and led him on excursions through the Rocky Mountains, to the jungles of Africa and to the unexplored regions of South America.

There were other fields—many others—beckoning to this ambitious youth, he entered all of them without a failure.

In school he was distinguished above his fellows, not in intellect, but in faithful devotion to duty and readiness to perform hard work. No task was too irksome for him. He was "a tall thin lad with bright blue eyes and legs like pipestems."

Christian F. Reisner in "Roosevelt's Religion," relates an incident that shows the turning point in Roosevelt's life. "He was sent to Moose Head Lake in Maine to relieve

him of asthma. While enroute, on the steamer deck, two boys amused themselves by teasing this 'High Brow' from New York. He attempted to fight them but was easily subdued. He determined to get strength and upon returning home took strenuously to gymnastic exercises, giving special attention to boxing. Thus began the training that gave him a powerful physique."

"In addition to physical frailty he was also timid and very retiring, afraid of shadows and even trembling before cows. His deliverance came from reading one of Margots' books where the captain of a small British man of war affirmed, 'that almost every man is frightened when he goes into action, but that the course to follow was for a man to keep such a grip on himself that he can act just as if he were not frightened.' This captain affirmed that ultimately pretense would come to reality." Roosevelt testifies that he tried it and where he was afraid at first of everything, ranging from grizzly bears to mean horses and gun fighters, he gradually ceased to be afraid of anything.

His physique and courage were self-made and his intellect was self-developed; his career was the output of his own energy. His daring enthusiasm in everything he undertook, worked mightily in making the man. His untiring industry and ever readiness to tackle the task in hand was a factor in making Roosevelt the most conspicuous man of his time. He was constantly in the lime-light from the day he selected politics as a stage on which to star the drama of his life.

The impartial historian must take cognizance of the fact that Roosevelt was never averse to exposing himself to the public view. This trait was conspicuously manifested at Harvard, as Inglehart said:

"There was something about the young student that was spectacular, that made people look at him and see what

he was about. They wanted to see him when he boxed and they watched him jump the rope. They looked at the red and blue athletic stockings which he wore and because they did make fun and demanded that he take them off, he the more persistently wore them. The whole college knew about the stuffed birds and game he killed, which decorated his apartment. They followed him with their eyes when on his favorite horse he dashed through the streets of Cambridge and along the country roads. He was in search of health and for scientific knowledge on his trips on horseback and on foot, yet, whatever he did, and wherever he went, he was the object of attention and of deep interest. This was one of his most marked characteristics which accompanied him throughout his life."

Roosevelt always assumed an air of importance. He had a grand way about him, because of his conscious strength. He valued himself at a high rate and others did the same thing. But Roosevelt was an unselfish man and never pushed himself unseemly ahead of others. He saw William J. Bryan made Colonel and approved it, likewise he saw Leonard Wood become Colonel of the Rough Riders which he organized, while he took second place and only succeeded Wood when Wood was promoted. Roosevelt was a big hearted, generous, unselfish man.

In the fall of 1876 he entered Harvard University, where he devoted much time to the study of natural history, but entered into athletics for his physical development. His classmates tell a story of his skipping a rope to develop his legs, thereby starting a vogue in the college for rope skipping. He weighed 150 pounds but was a star light weight boxer in spite of the hazardous handicap of having his spectacles lashed to his head, but with Roosevelt it was sport for sport's sake, he played games for the moral victory of good sportmanship.

Just before entering college, when on a vacation in

Maine, with an old guide, Bill Sewall, Roosevelt developed a love for the woods, which later led him to the west to be a ranchman, hunter and explorer.

Soon after graduating from Harvard in 1880, he married Alice Hathaway Lee, the sweetheart of his college days—the daughter of a Boston family. At this time he had no chosen vocation. His definite aim was not to live a life of indolence, so he entered Columbia University for the purpose of studying law, having no intention of following a legal career.

His father had died while Teddy was attending Harvard, and left him ample means for his support. He might have lived a life of ease, but his father had taught him to be industrious and he was too full of energy to follow a life of idleness. He often quoted this from Tennyson's "Ulysses,"

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end
To rust unburnished,
Not to shine in use;
As tho' to breathe, were life."

This was the doctrine of the strenuous life which he preached and practiced. His idea was to perform hard, necessary tasks, not to sit back and criticize.

When he entered Columbia University at twenty-two years of age, he decided to enter politics. His companions who belonged to New York's Four Hundred, laughed at him. They argued that no gentleman should go into politics as he would have to associate with hack-drivers, saloon-keepers and men of that type. Theodore retorted: "They are helping to govern the City, you are not."

The young aspirant to public honors knew so little of politics, that he had to inquire how to join the Republican Club. Years after when he had become a statesman, some vicious newspaper charged him with being a politician. His reply was: "I should be ashamed if I were not a politician."

In politics he not only preached, but practiced, one of his pet theories:—"He who has not wealth owes his first duty to his family; but he who has means owes his time to the State." At the time Roosevelt entered upon his public career politics in New York was under the control of district bosses. Roosevelt was the laughing stock of his friends when he formed a district political club and ran for the Legislature. He was elected as a member of the New York State Legislature by an original system of a house to house canvass.

At the time of his election he was only twenty-three years of age, the youngest member of the Legislature. The next year the Democrats led by Grover Cleveland carried New York State by two hundred thousand majority. Roosevelt was one of the few Republicans re-elected. Upon his re-election he was chosen leader of the minority.

In 1884 Roosevelt won his first notable success in politics. He was elected Delegate at Large from New York to the Republican National Convention, and was made Chairman of the New York Delegation.

He served three terms in the State Legislature and upon his third election the Republicans were again in power. He was defeated for the speakership of the House because the bosses could not trust him to do their bidding. He had already shown signs of independence when on several occasions he supported Grover Cleveland, a Democrat. Roosevelt fought for reforms considered by the bosses, silk stocking freaks, but his ability was undeniable and the militant young politician created a stir and a general house-cleaning in the City Government of New York. It resulted in the reduction of big salaries and the stopping of paying unearned fees. Roosevelt's three terms in the Assembly advanced him to the leadership of the Republican party in the State.

As a member of the Legislature his conduct was upright and startling. He demanded that a certain judge be impeached. This attracted public notice to this youthful audacious reformer. He was a strong-headed, self-willed, opinionated young man. Speaking of his services in the Legislature Roosevelt says in his autobiography: "I suppose my head was swelled. It would not be strange if it was. I stood out for my own opinions, alone I took the best mugwump stand; my own conscience, my own judgment were to decide all things. I would listen to no arguments, no advice. I took the isolated peak on every issue, and my people left me. When I looked around, before the session was well under way, I found myself alone. I was absolutely deserted. I looked the ground over and made up my mind that there were several other excellent people there, with honest opinions of the right, even though they were different from mine. I turned in to help them, and they turned to and gave me a hand. And so we were able to get things done."

Two great sorrows befell Roosevelt in 1884, the death of his wife and mother. Bill Sewall, his old guide of boyhood days in the Maine Woods, said: "When Theodore lost his wife and mother, it almost unbalanced his mind. But he never noticed or was affected by the loss of material things. We lost half of our cattle by drought, snow, and the unfair tactics of the big herdowners. He lost nearly $50,000 by the ranch venture, but he was never blue or complained about that. He divided all the profits but endured all the losses alone. He had absolutely no instinct for money. He allowed that to die while he developed instead, the instinct for service which alone appealed to him. He expected to stay on the ranch permanently when he first came, but God had other plans. When he left the ranch he was clean bone, muscle and grit and physically strong enough to be anything he wanted to be from president, down."

With a heavy heart, with a jaw firmly set and with a mind eager for diversion and exertion young Roosevelt turned his eyes toward the western sun and his steps toward her plains and hills. He owned the Chimney Butte Ranch near Medora, North Dakota. It was here he began ranching in earnest and entered wholehearted into the life of a plainsman.

In the fall of 1886 he was called back to New York by being nominated by the Independents, for Mayor of New York City. The constituency was so strongly Democratic that it was a losing game from the beginning, but Roosevelt entered the campaign with his usual indomitable zeal and after the expected defeat sailed for England declaring he had thoroughly enjoyed the "lively canvass and had a bully time."

In London he married Miss Edith Kermit Carow, a New York woman, a descendant of an old English and Huguenot family. A few months after his marriage, he returned to New York and took the stump for General Harrison during the campaign of 1888. After the election of President Harrison, Roosevelt was appointed a member of the Civil Service Commission. This was an unpopular office but it gave him an opportunity to aggressively stand for reforms. He held the office from 1889-95. In 1895 William L. Strong was elected Mayor of New York and appointed Roosevelt President of the New York Police Commission. Never dreaming as Inglehart says: "That he was getting such a buzz-saw on his hands as he did in the intense, irresistible, insistent, fearless fighter and real reformer as Theodore Roosevelt."

One of the first things the new commissioner did, was to stun the Mayor as well as his friends and foes by issuing an order that all saloons should be closed the next Sunday. This created a tremendous excitement which continued throughout the two years he held this office. He

eradicated corruption; stopped the payment of money for promotion to the men higher up; he kept in touch with the policemen on the street, and established merit as the only basis for favors. He called himself dead politically, when he realized the unpopularity that resulted from his drastic program. Two-thirds of the leaders of Tammany Hall were in some way connected with the liquor business and former commissioners had never applied the Sunday law to friendly places.

A protest parade, organized by those opposed to his policies turned out to be a farce. While the Commissioner sat in the grandstand, conspicuous with his big spectacles and broad smile, he heard shouts of "Bully for Teddy" that counterbalanced the huge placards carried in the parade, reading: "Send the Police Czar to Russia." His clean-up reached broader fields than saloons. He made a crusade on unfit tenements, dug up an obsolete law and seized at least a hundred over-crowded, diseased tenements in the poor districts. In one instance the death rate of a single neighborhood was reduced from 39 to 16 in a thousand.

The Commissioner's vigilance and vigor is unparalleled and many adventures are told of him as he tramped through obscure districts of New York to find out for himself the actual conditions. Policemen claim that it was here that his prominent teeth first became notorious. It was not an unusual event for Roosevelt to walk into a group of loitering policemen and demand, "which of you is covering the beat?" Newspaper artists depicted cartoons of scared policemen seeing ghosts in the form of a huge set of teeth grimly gleaming in the dark streets.

On April 19, 1897, Roosevelt received from President McKinley the appointment of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He had asked for this appointment, breaking his record of never asking favors. This office was considered

unimportant, but Roosevelt was especially attached to it by his continual interest in the American Navy. He also foresaw trouble with Spain, and with his usual eagerness to serve, realized the necessity of "sharpening the tools of the Navy," and strengthening this department of national defense. Before he took office Spain had accused the United States of helping the rebellious and oppressed Cubans, in spite of the fact that our ships were policing the coast for the purpose of preventing shipment of arms to Cuba. While the Assistant Naval Secretary was trudging through tangled masses of political red tape, re-organizing the system of rank and promotion among naval officers and shocking Congress by using up powder for much needed target practice, the battleship Maine was blown up in the harbor of Havana. It was a defiant blow in the face of America.

Roosevelt's ridiculed prophecy was vindicated, but there were still many sarcastic remarks among army and navy officials. A joke penetrated the club at Washington that Roosevelt had the whole war programme mapped out.

His preparedness measures were undaunted and he continued the buying and equipping of ships to such a degree of efficiency that it made possible the deadly blow at Manila where Dewey won his signal victory. If the War Department had been equally foresighted there would have been a different and shorter story of the Spanish-American War.

John D. Long, Secretary of Navy under whom Roosevelt served as Assistant and as acting Secretary in Long's absence, gives interesting data as to Roosevelt's doings while at the head of the department. Secretary Long wrote in his diary concerning Roosevelt's conduct on one occasion while he was in charge: "In the evening Roosevelt came around, whom I had left acting Secretary during the afternoon. He is so enthusiastic and loyal that

he is in certain respects invaluable, yet I lack confidence in his good judgment and discretion. He goes off so impulsively and if I have a good night to-night, I feel that I should be back in the department rather than take a vacation." The following evening Mr. Long again wrote in his diary: "I find that Roosevelt in his precipitate way has come very near causing more of an explosion than happened to the Maine. I really think he is hardly fit to be entrusted with the responsibility of the Department at this critical time. He seems to be thoroughly loyal, but the very devil seemed to possess him yesterday afternoon. Having the authority for that time of Acting Secretary, he immediately began to launch peremptory orders—distributing ships, ordering ammunition, which there is no means to move, sending messages to Congress for immediate legislation, ordering guns from the Navy Yard at Washington to New York.

"He has gone at things like a bull in a china shop. It shows how the best fellow in the world—and with splendid capacities—worse than no use, if he lacks a cool head and careful discretion."

Again Secretary Long makes entry in his diary: "My Assistant Secretary, Roosevelt, has determined upon resigning in order to go into the army and take part in the war. He has been of great use; a man of undoubted energy and force and thoroughly honest, which is the main thing. He has lost his head; this unutterable folly of deserting the past where he is of the most service and running off to ride a horse, and probably, brush mosquitos from his neck on the Florida lands. And yet how absurd this all sounds if by some gift of fortune he should accomplish some great thing and strike a very high mark."

At some subsequent date, after Roosevelt had struck a very high mark, Mr. Long turned back to this page in his diary and added this foot-note: "Roosevelt was right,

and we, his friends, were all wrong. His going into the army led straight to the presidency."

When war was declared Roosevelt was offered a position on the War Board, but refused. He longed to enter the fight. It was an opportune time to practice what he had preached, and on May 6, 1898, he was sworn in as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Rough Riders. It was a regiment of his own. The young Assistant Secretary had a tremendous following. After various futile attempts for active service, he turned to the west to recruit an army from his familiar plains and mountains, and the telegraph wires were hot with offers of service. They came from every corner of the United States. There was never a more unique regiment of soldiers than the personnel of the Rough Riders. They ranged from rugged, excited cowboys and New York policemen to college graduates and members of the fashionable clubs of the east. There were fifty men sent from the east to join the western volunteers that were being mustered in at San Antonio, Texas. This motley regiment went into strict military discipline and training. When word came that they were as fit as a veteran army, the entire regiment went wild with excitement at the opportunity of going with the first army of invasion.

Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt formed a firm friendship that ripened into life-long devotion. Col. Wood and Lieut.-Col. Roosevelt found that the recruiting and training of their Rough Riders was a small task compared to getting them to Cuba. There were days of delayed travel over the poorly organized southern railroads in the heat of May, 1898. There were weeks of delay in Tampa and finally orders came, when half the regiment with but few horses embarked for Cuba. There was congestion and complications at Port Tampa; no provisions, conflicting orders, no authority. Three regiments had been

ordered aboard the Yucatan and it was first come first served. Roosevelt held to the gang plank by sheer strength and rushed all his men aboard. Then another delay, the old rickety rattle-trap boat lay in the steaming bay of Tampa for a week. Wood and Roosevelt accepted no luxuries which they were not able to give to their men, but the spirit of the Rough Riders maintained constant enthusiasm. They landed in Cuba under a bombardment of Spanish guns. These sturdy plainsmen were rather a pathetic sight as they marched on foot to the front. They could have ridden twice around Cuba undaunted, but they were completely nonplussed without their horses.

Their first fight was in a dense jungle. The regiment had come unexpectedly upon a Spanish outpost and the enemy's smokeless powder made it seem as though the attack was from an invisible foe. The Riders fell like clay pigeons, not knowing where to shoot, until Richard Harding Davis, the brilliant young newspaper correspondent, located a row of hats in the glade. The Americans dashed through the waist-high grass and made such a fierce attack that the Spaniards took to cover. Many a tale of heroism may be found in that bitter battle of Las Guasimas, although it ended in only eight Americans killed and thirty-four wounded.

When orders came to march on, Colonel Wood was placed in command of the brigade and Roosevelt was promoted to take his place as Colonel of the Rough Riders. The brave Colonel had many narrow escapes; he was never known to accept any protection or comfort not accorded a private. The American heart thrills at the dramatic battle of San Juan Hill where Roosevelt, without military orders, led the Riders and straggling regiments of Regulars in a charge which captured the hill. This battle stands out as one of the most spectacular battles in American History.

The officials at Washington were prevailed upon to recall the American army in Manila, and the Rough Riders landed in New York, welcomed by a throng of admirers and hero-worshipers. Colonel Roosevelt was the man of the hour.

The political bosses of New York found it easier to reckon with Roosevelt as a reformer of politics, than with Roosevelt, the hero of the Rough Riders.

Every war in American history has developed popular heroes that later became Presidents. The Revolution sent George Washington to the presidential chair; the War of 1812 Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison; the Mexican War Taylor and Scott; the Civil War resulted in giving Grant the highest office of our country as well as shaping the political careers of Hays, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison and McKinley.

Although the Spanish-American War was inconsequential as compared with other marshall conflicts, it gave to this country the man who was to become an international character, and an example of a typical American.

The Rough Riders were scarcely mustered out when Roosevelt, with characteristic frankness, announced his candidacy for Governor of New York. The Republican party was afraid to nominate him and afraid not to, but his nomination seemed the lesser of the evils. There was an exciting campaign, although it was rumored that Senator Platt controlled the bosses of the State, and held the yea and nay of New York politics, it was by Roosevelt's personal efforts, specifically, his novel and thorough stumping the State, making uncompromising and forceful speeches, that won the victory.

Within a few weeks after his inauguration he was master of the situation. He had become masterful by Rooseveltian methods, new and unprecedented. As Governor of New York and President of the United States he did not follow precedence but made them.

As governor his greatest accomplishment was a bill taxing public franchises. This bill aroused the corporations against him to such an extent that they combined with other interests, especially the bosses who were antagonistic to Roosevelt. They decided that the only safe place for such a troublesome person was to bury him, by nominating him Vice President of the United States.

When Roosevelt appeared at the Republican National Convention, as a delegate at large from New York, he was hailed with outbursts of enthusiasm. He made the speech nominating William McKinley for President. After McKinley received the nomination, the delegates unanimously roared Roosevelt's nomination for Vice President.

For eight weeks he campaigned the country. Even in the enemy states he was undaunted, declaring: "I am for the protective tariff, the Gold Standard, for Expansion and for the Honor of the Flag."

On November 6, 1900, McKinley and Roosevelt were elected. They were in office scarcely six months when the assassination of President McKinley, at a reception in the Music Temple at the Pan American Exposition, in Buffalo, placed Roosevelt at the head of the nation.

He took the pledge of office in Buffalo, at the home of Judge Wilcox, on September 14, 1901. There were forty men present; there was not a dry eye among those strong men. Sentences were spoken in half tones, broken off by emotion, many of them were left unspoken. With a tremor in his voice, Roosevelt took the solemn oath of office. In all America's history there has not been so silent and heavy-hearted inauguration.

Secretary Root, who had been present twenty years before, at the only parallel occasion when Vice President Arthur was sworn in after the assassination of Garfield, was so overcome with emotion that he was blinded by tears, and unable to speak. It would be difficult indeed to find

a more complex situation than the one in which President Roosevelt found himself. McKinley was universally beloved. To fill his place was a Herculean task.

No one realized more than Roosevelt the difficulties before him. His first move was that of a diplomatist; he re-appointed McKinley's Cabinet, man for man. In spite of the titterings and forebodings of the public, Roosevelt with resolute skill, won the conservatives; moreover, to all intents and purposes, the McKinley Cabinet and Administration became Rooseveltian.

There were the usual intermittent changes, Elihu Root retired for business reasons but returned at great personal sacrifice to fill the place of Secretary of State, left vacant by the death of John Hay. Taft was summoned from the Philippines to take a place in the Cabinet; eventually he promoted to the Cabinet Cortelyou, McKinley's private secretary.

When Roosevelt became the chief executive of the United States he was forty-two years of age, the youngest man that ever occupied the White House.

Every poor country boy had been stirred by the story of Abraham Lincoln, who had climbed the golden stairs to the White House. Roosevelt gave an example to the rich city boys how the rich, as well as the poor boy could ascend the ladder of fame and power.

Roosevelt showed no favoritism, and declared that, "The Door of the White House shall swing open as easily for the poor as for the rich, and not one bit easier."

As President, Roosevelt's reforms ranged from settling coal strikes to prosecuting steel trusts and gigantic railroad mergers.

Speaker Thomas B. Reed called him a man of "Blood and Iron," yet, with all his grit Roosevelt seemed more of the Blood than of the Iron. During his presidency he visited every state in the Union; he never lost sight of the

importance of the personal touch. A characteristic example of his sincerity of purpose was a remark, humbly made, after a narrow escape from death in a street car accident near Fitchbay, Massachusetts, "I thank God, that I escaped death, yet I do not fear death as much as I do that I may make some mistake appertaining to the welfare of the country."

He never lost sight of that great democratic force, "Public Opinion." He first appealed to it when Congress failed to pass the Bill for Reciprocity to Cuba. His appeal to Congress was so strong that when the next session opened, the members came back with instructions from home to back up the President.

Roosevelt refused to be intrigued into factional quarrels. He was as direct in his dealings with individuals as he was to the country at large. There was little surprise when he announced his candidacy for President, but there was a good-natured awe at his bombastic and frank way of doing it. Other candidates had hemmed and hawed, but Roosevelt simply said point blank that he wanted the nomination and that he wished those who favored it would say so.

The Republican National Convention at Chicago went through the form of a unanimous nomination, his election was a foregone conclusion.

Roosevelt was stronger than his party. When news of his overwhelming victory reached the White House, he made the statement that he would under no circumstance run again. He was inaugurated March 4, 1905, for his second and last term. It was a term with "Prosperity" as its watchword. He was bent on giving every one a square deal, to fill the rich man's purse and the poor man's pail without partiality. He declared, "The Labor Unions shall have a square deal, the corporations shall have a square deal, all American citizens shall have a square deal."

It was the beginning of an open breach between capital and labor. There had been an under current of unrest and dissatisfaction, but no one had ventured to cry loud enough to greatly disturb business. The stock ticker ceased to be the throbbing pulse of the Nation. Roosevelt tackled such giant problems as the reform of capital and labor, trusts and railway mergers.

Heretofore there had been no Theodore Roosevelt to reckon with. Here was a man who stood in no awe of wealth, who had the courage of his political, as well as economic convictions, who had frequently and vehemently declared himself against lawless money—monopolies.

Within a few months after he became President, Roosevelt inaugurated the movement to establish Departments of Commerce and Labor in the Cabinet. He appointed the first Secretaries of Labor and Commerce.

The first conflict between the Government, as represented by Roosevelt and the Trusts, in the concrete form of the Northern Securities Company, was a battle which raged in court for nearly two years. Roosevelt was impervious to the bribes and threats of capital.

His fields of action were not confined to the United States. He was confronted with many knotty foreign problems. The most important being the Panama Canal project. The Government of Panama was in the hands of machine manipulators, who rejected a treaty with the United States for the construction of the canal. He was determined that his vision of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans should be actualized.

The American Government had been kept advised of the Colombian situation; that alone could account for the presence of America's warships in the neighborhood of Panama at the time of its revolt against Colombia. Colombia could not conquer her rebellious states against the naval assistance of the United States, consequently a treaty was

negotiated with the new Republic of Panama. Six months later the Canal Commission secured full control of the Panama Canal Zone under a perpetual lease and began operations.

He revived the peace tribunal at The Hague, when it was dying of general neglect, by submitting to them a dispute between the United States and Mexico, known as the Pius Claim. He was the direct means of referring to The Hague the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, after it had come to a crisis by German and British guns bombarding Venezuelan's Port because of certain unpaid claims.

It was his successful activity in peace propaganda that was instrumental in his being presented with the Nobel Peace Prize of 1905-06, by unanimous vote. The Nobel Peace Prize is $40,000 given annually to the person who has done most to promote the peace of the world. Roosevelt used the money as a foundation for a permanent fund to promote a Righteous Industrial Peace between Capital and Labor.

Later in his administration he handled the Japanese-California Immigration and School question with unprecedented frankness and surprising success.

Theodore Roosevelt sought counsel from every reliable source. When an important decision was to be made, he summoned all available men who were experts and authorities on the subject in hand. He wanted all angles of the question before making a decision. His cautious investigation of important questions was counterbalanced by a quick fire rapidity of answers and decisions in all things of routine character.

Of the hundreds of friendly and inimicable estimates of Roosevelt's character, John Hay after he had been in Roosevelt's Cabinet three years, said: "Roosevelt is prompt and energetic but he takes infinite pains to get at

the facts before he acts. In all the crises in which he has been accused of undue haste, his action has been the result of long meditation."

During his term of office he was looked upon by the other nations of the world as the highest type of national leadership.

Mr. John Morley, the great British author and statesman, said that he had seen two tremendous forces of value in America, the Niagara Falls and President Theodore Roosevelt, and added, "I am not sure which is the more wonderful." The English *Review of Reviews* printed this of him: "Take Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Rhodes, Lord Charles Beresford and John Burns, boil them down until you get the residuum essence into an American Dutchman and you have something like the new President of the United States."

Roosevelt's place at Sagamore Hill was to him what Mt. Vernon was to George Washington. He spent his vacations there and real vacations they were in spite of devoting half of every day to executive work. The remarkable fact about Roosevelt's life was that he had time for everything. He had time for his family, time for sports, time for worship and time for reading. He read an entire book with the ease and speed with which the average person glances over the morning newspaper. A life could not have been lived more rounded out, more completely developed in all the varied ways of life.

Some men have written a dozen books, but few have written good books along with a life branching out into a dozen other fields of success. Roosevelt wrote and published: The Winning of the West, Hunting Trips of a Ranchman, History of the Naval War of 1812, The Life of Thomas Hart Benton, The Life of Gouverneur Morris, Ranch Life and Hunting Trails, A History of New York, The Wilderness Hunter, American Ideals, The Rough

Riders, Life of Oliver Cromwell, The Strenuous Life, and Fear God and Take Your Own Part—thirty-seven thought evoking books. To this list of complete works, may be added various collaborations with others on books, to say nothing of innumerable newspaper and magazine articles.

The last months of his administration were intermingled with political upheavals so great as to split the Republican Party, but Roosevelt retained his courageous spirit and stood by his convictions to the very end.

The members of the Annias Club, a coined name for Roosevelt's enemies, were usually men who had never known him. He was bitterly hated by them but beloved by all who knew him. He was accused of opportunism but not by those who knew the depths of his soul. His accusers, of being a vote hunter, admitted that he never compromised himself for a vote. It was in the south that he denounced the Democratic Party; in Detroit, that he blazed forth against pacifism; in France that he denounced race suicide; in England he assailed England's Egyptian Policy.

His personal magnetism combined with his tremendous mental and physical versatility makes him a colossal type of modern manhood. His achievements and influence makes him the greatest American of our age. His patriotism stands as an unparalleled example. Many criticized his intensity but none doubted his sincerity.

After he turned the White House over to his friend William Howard Taft, whom he had made President, he sailed for east Africa in a scientific expedition for the Smithsonian Institute. This was not a sportsman's holiday but a serious campaign far into the jungles to make experiments and bring back specimens for the National Museum. The expedition was such a tremendous success that enthusiastic naturalists have declared that his name

would shine on the metal tables for his extraordinary etymological exhibits long after it has become dim in political legends. After a year in the deserts and jungles, Roosevelt's return to civilization was a triumphal procession. He visited Rome, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania, London. Royalty entertained him as the foremost statesman; scientific societies besieged him with requests to address them as an authority on Natural History; universities honored him with degrees. His return to New York was that of a conquering hero, the City was in an uproar. The tide swept him back into politics and the exhausting political struggles of the years between 1910-12 were perhaps the least pleasant and the least to be remembered ones of his life.

Although Roosevelt had given Taft the Presidency, a coolness had arisen between them which developed into antagonism. In 1912 seven Progressive Governors united in a demand that Roosevelt become again a candidate for the presidency. He threw his hat in the ring, and outlined his progressive creed at Columbus, Ohio. It was called, "A Charter of Democracy" and was so radical that it alarmed conservatives. The first direct primary held in Illinois went to Roosevelt by such an overwhelming majority that it openly and definitely split the Republican party. Taft took the stump against Roosevelt and when the Republican Convention met in Chicago, feeling ran so high that the political world expected a riot. Nothing had compared to it since the Democratic Convention in Charleston in 1860.

When the National Committee passed on contested cases it threw out nearly all the Roosevelt delegates. Roosevelt demanded that the Taft men whose seats were contested, should not be allowed to vote on each other's cases. This was refused and Roosevelt called on his followers to re-

frain from voting at all. When the Convention adjourned, Roosevelt's backers proceeded to Orchestra Hall where he was informally placed in nomination as a bolting candidate. In August a real Convention was held and the Bull Moose party formally nominated Roosevelt for President with Hiram W. Johnson of California as Vice President.

Roosevelt stumped practically every state in the Union and carried five states against Taft's two. He was not elected, but received a much larger popular vote than did the nominee of the Republican party.

It was during this stormy campaign that Roosevelt was shot by a crank, named John Shrauk, just as he was to deliver a speech in the Auditorium in Milwaukee. This incident affords another example of his astounding physical courage. Not knowing how serious his wound was, Roosevelt finished his speech before he would consent to go to the hospital.

At the end of the campaign he was invited to make addresses in South America. He prolonged the tour in an expedition into the Tropics to study its birds, animals and vegetation. It was during this expedition that his party discovered and descended an unknown branch of the Amazon River. This River Doubt is now called "The Rio Theodoro." His party underwent untold hardships, and Roosevelt returned to United States in 1914 weakened by jungle fever and scant rations during their explorings, as well as a severe injury in his leg, cut by a rock when he was thrown from a canoe.

But physical handicaps were thrown aside by this strong man's fortitude. He was partially blind as a result of a boxing match while in the White House, and was constantly handicapped by huge spectacles, From a puny boy he had made himself a man of such physique that the average cavalryman shrunk at a contest of riding with

him, and there were few men in Washington who had the endurance to share his hikes.

His return to the United States brought a new stimulus to the Progressive party, but the World War reduced all politics to a minor place in the public mind and to a correspondingly lesser place in the mind of Theodore Roosevelt.

For a few months he advocated President Wilson's policy of neutrality, but it was only the calm before the storm. It was not long until he began to urge Wilson to prepare for the inevitable conflict. From the first Roosevelt preached preparedness and Americanism.

When the United States declared war Roosevelt offered to raise a division of volunteers, but the war department would not consent to this suggestion. In an article given to the public through the Associated Press, he said: "The Great War has put us in a new world and in this new world we must resolutely cling to the old things that were good, but we must also fearlessly adopt the new expedients imperative to bring justice under the new conditions."

His four sons joined the army and went to the front. His youngest son, Quentin, made the supreme sacrifice for his country. Roosevelt's war work, so different from what he desired, consisted of speaking and writing. He put his heart into this, interrupted though it was by frequent attacks of ill health.

He died at his home at Sagamore Hill on January 6, 1919. He had spent an enjoyable evening in the company of his wife and retired as usual. His death came as a tremendous shock to this country as well as the nations of the World.

The big thing about Theodore Roosevelt, a thing at which men still marvel, was his preeminent possession of the inimitable touch-stone—the common touch. His life from day to day was constant proof of this quality and it

was expressed as readily and as enthusiastically upon meeting a cowboy as on greeting the proudest possessor of royal blood. To Roosevelt each was a man and to this association with each there came, spontaneously, the spirit of fellowship, a man to man, eye to eye, hand to hand, appreciation of each other.

With him to love truth meant to hate deceit; to love goodness, to hate wickedness; to love justice, to hate injustice. What he loved he embraced whole-heartedly; what he disliked, he fought with every ounce of his powerful personality. His energies ranged all the scales. His ardor knew no restraint of direction, proportion, class or time.

Mankind progresses by generations. The great men of each generation are its young men. Roosevelt's greatness was preeminently this type. Though he grew in knowledge and experience, the pain marked body laid away at Oyster Bay contained the same unchanged and changeless soul, the imperishable spirit of the truly great. Roosevelt embodied the spirit of exuberant youth. He believed in youth, in life, in men, in his country, in goodness, and in God.[1]

[1]In a number of personal conferences the author felt the magnetic charm of Roosevelt's personality and the dynamic power of his bewitching tongue.

AMERICAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT[1]

CIVIL GOVERNMENT is the oldest form of government known. There are evidences that the earliest tribes of men had some forms of civil government applicable to their needs. Although they were crude, nevertheless, they were the foundation upon which our present day governments have been built.

Civil government takes its origin from two human instincts, the gregarious and the instinct of self-preservation.

The instinct of self-preservation compels us to work that we may supply the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. The business world is organized largely for the purpose of furnishing these necessities in return for our labor.

The gregarious instinct brings us together in social groups, and through these groups, we obtain many benefits—schools, churches, highways and laws, etc. These are public needs and must be supplied by the group. Thus, the instinct of self-preservation plus the gregarious instinct are responsible for the degree of social perfection which we now enjoy.

If we would realize that civil government is indispensable to our daily lives, we would have a clearer conception of the importance of a fundamental knowledge of this subject.

The governments of the earth today are the products of thousands of years of growth, revolution and change. A study of political history reveals the following devel-

[1]In writing this chapter the author appreciates the assistance of his secretary, C. Wayne Stephens.

opment of government: First, the family government was organized upon the basis of kinship and religion. At the head of the family was the house father or priest and ruler. The power of the father was absolute. He could pronounce the death sentence upon a child, or sell it into slavery. The father was the source of all authority.

Second, the tribe. Prehistoric evidence reveals that the family was in some way subordinated to a larger government, known as the tribe, which consisted of a union of families. At the head of the tribe, as its chief and high priest, stood that kinsman who by birth was nearest to the common ancestor. The chief was assisted in matters of government by the heads of the families which composed the tribe.

Third, the state government. The last step in the evolution of government was taken as the tribes grew and branched out, for it became necessary to organize a national or state government. The earliest states were organized on the basis of kinship, as the word, "natus" indicated. With the forming of the state government, the desires of the different tribes and communities had to be considered. The people were not only members of a family or cult, but they had developed until they had become members of a commonwealth, active partners in a political enterprise. They began with certain desires and regarded the state as an agency by which these things might be secured. They were citizens of the state and owed allegiance to the state, and received in return the protection which it afforded.

From these early state governments to the present day, there have developed over forty different forms of governments. The earliest form of government was a monarchy. Changes in society brought about changes in the organization of the state. An absolute monarchy is the government of one. The ruler of such a monarchy makes his own laws and enforces them.

In the development of the state government, a small number of the leading men—the wealthy, the gentry, overthrew the king, and took the government into their own hands, forming an aristocracy. Properly speaking, an aristocracy is a government conducted by a few of the strongest people of the state.

On the other hand, a clique of political adventurers, who could claim neither merit nor high birth, would seize the power of the state, and hold it by force. A government of this kind was called an oligarchy.

Thus the governments of the world have developed step by step until today the popular forms of government are, limited monarchies in which the ruler shares political powers with a legislative body, and is limited by constitutions and laws. A democracy is a government by the people. The people of a democracy make and execute laws, and look after the general interests of the government. A republic is a representative form of democracy. All political power is obtained directly or indirectly from the citizens who are entitled to vote. In a republic, laws are made and executed by representatives elected by the people.

In studying the growth and development of the government of the United States, we must go back to 1607 when English colonists founded Jamestown. England claimed this territory by right of discovery. John Cabot landed on the Atlantic coast near Boston in 1497, and took formal possession of all lands lying west of the Atlantic.

For a time these colonists enjoyed freedom, but later they grew and developed to such an extent that they were brought under the direct rule of the King of England through his appointed governors. Decade after decade, the American colonists grew more desirous of absolute freedom, while the rule of the king became more and

more tyrannical. These early colonists sowed the seed for our present day form of republican government.

The colonies grew until at the time of the Revolutionary War, there were thirteen—known as the thirteen original colonies—each colony had a distinct and separate government. Through the combined efforts of these colonies, the Revolutionary War was won.

After the war, it became evident to the leaders of the colonies that a union was necessary to assure the perpetuation of the freedom for which they had fought. After heated discussion, lasting over twelve months, the Constitution of the United States was adopted. This Constitution was a working basis for our Federal Government.

When the United States declared her independence from England, it was declared in the name of the people. The Constitution of the United States was founded on the principle of equality to all. It required diplomacy and insistency to convince the people of the thirteen original states of the necessity for a federal government. Each state believed in certain inherent rights, which they were reluctant to relinquish.

A republican government receives its power directly or indirectly from the people. In granting power to the government, the individual must concede certain rights in return for which the government gives him protection. Each individual is responsible for the protection of the rights granted him. Through suffrage, he has the power to protect his individual interests as well as those of the state.

The Constitutional limitations on the federal government fall into two groups: First, those designed to protect liberty against arbitrary interference on the part of the government, and second, those designed to protect private property against confiscation and irregular action on the part of the federal authorities.

A republican government does not confer all the power upon one person or body of persons. It is divided into three departments, the Legislative Department, which has the power of making laws; the Judicial Department has the power of deciding how the laws shall apply in particular cases when disputes arise; the Executive Department is vested with the power of enforcing laws.

The Legislative Department is the most powerful and in some respects, the most important. The powers of the Legislative Department are set forth in the Constitution of the United States. First, Congress has power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises, and to appropriate money to pay debts, and provides for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. Second, Congress has power to raise and support armies, create and maintain navies, and provide for the organization and use of the State Militia. It also declares war. Third, in respect to commerce and business, Congress may regulate commerce with foreign countries and among the several states, make uniform bankruptcy laws, fix the standards of weights and measures, protect authors and inventors by a system of patents and copyrights, and establish post-offices and post roads. Fourth, Congress has power to coin money, regulate its value and the value of foreign coin. Fifth, Congress may make all laws which shall be deemed necessary to the best interests of the people.

One of the most important powers of the legislature is to provide money, by means of taxation, for the support of the government. The legislative department of the United States consists of representatives elected by the people. It is composed of two branches, the Senate, known as the Upper House, and the House of Representatives, known as the Lower House. A measure must always pass both houses before it becomes a law.

The number of members in the House of Representatives is fixed by Congress. It is based entirely upon the population of a state. Each state is divided into congressional districts composed of not less than 30,000 population. One representative is allowed from each of the congressional districts.

The Constitution prescribes that there shall be two Senators from each state, and that no state without its consent, shall be deprived of equal representation in the Senate.

The judicial power of the federal government is vested in one court known as the Supreme Court of the United States, and in such lower courts as Congress may establish. All federal judges are appointed by the President subject to the approval of the Senate. At the head of the Federal Court system stands the Supreme Court, composed of nine judges. The most important questions decided by the Supreme Court involve disputes of constitutional law brought up from lower federal courts or from state courts on appeal or by writs of error. A decision handed down by the Supreme Court is final.

The United States is divided into nine circuits. Each circuit has a court known as the Circuit Court of Appeals. This court is immediately under the Supreme Court. The Circuit Court of Appeals has the right to review by appeal or on writ of error decisions in the lower federal courts, and its decision is final in a large number of cases. This court decides controversies between aliens and citizens, suits between citizens of different states, and cases arising under patent, revenue, and criminal laws. This court was organized to relieve the Supreme Court. The Circuit Court of Appeals may ask the Supreme Court for instructions on any point of law, and on the other hand, the Supreme Court may call the case up and decide it. This reserves, therefore, to the Supreme Court the decisions in cases involving constitutionality and gives to

the Circuit Court of Appeals the final decision in nearly all other cases involving merely the application of ordinary law.

Immediately under the Circuit Court of Appeals is the United States District Court. In each of the nine circuits mentioned above there are two, three, or four circuit judges, according to the size of the circuit.

The United States is divided into ninety districts, to each of which is usually assigned one judge. The business of the District Court embraces many different questions, mainly bankruptcy and federal criminal cases, except capital offenses. The federal court will take no notice of the constitutionality of a statute except when it is brought to the attention of the court in the form of a case involving the rights of parties to a suit, and in no instance will the Federal Judiciary consider the constitutionality of any law until it is brought to their attention in a suit, or render an opinion either to Congress or the President on the validity of a proposed statute.

The enforcement of the laws made by the legislature and the decisions made by the judiciary, and the preservation of peace and order are the functions of the executive branch. The executive power of the United States is vested in one man, the President, while the executive power of a state, county and town is invested in the Governor, sheriff, and mayor respectively.

Under the system of the United States, each of the departments of government—the Legislative, the Judiciary and the Executive has certain specific powers and duties, and each is independent of the other two departments; yet, at the same time, each department acts as a check on the other two. The Supreme Court of the United States can declare a law passed by Congress to be null and void as soon as a dispute rising under the act is brought before it. If the Judiciary Department over-steps its powers,

the Legislative Department can pass laws limiting it. If the Executive Department goes contrary to the wishes of the Legislative Department, the latter may refuse to vote money necessary to conduct the executive business. Thus by a system of balanced powers and effective checks, the independence and efficiency of each department is secured.

The functions of the President of the United States are prescribed by the Constitution. It is his duty to see that the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States, and judicial decisions rendered by the federal courts are duly enforced everywhere within the borders of the country. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, has power of pardoning offenses against the government of the United States, the power of making treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power of appointing members of his Cabinet, foreign ministers, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and many other federal officers. He has the power to convene Congress in special sessions, and to adjourn Congress when the two houses cannot agree upon the question of adjournment. The President has the power to vote any law passed by the legislature; on the other hand, the legislature has the power to enact a law over the President's veto by a two-thirds majority of the votes of both houses.

The President is assisted in carrying out his many duties by a Cabinet composed of ten departments. These assistants are known as Secretaries, and each department has certain specified duties. They are in importance of rank: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Post-Master General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor.

The nomination and election of a President is compli-

cated: The National Party Conventions assemble for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. These conventions assemble on a call issued by their respective national committees. Each national committee selects the place and date of the convention. The national convention is composed of delegates from each state and territory of the United States. Each state and territory is entitled to two delegates for each of its Senators and Representatives in Congress. The four delegates corresponding to the representation of the state in the Senate are known as delegates at large, and the others are called district delegates. In addition to the regular delegates, there is an equal number of alternates chosen in the same manner, and authorized to serve in case the regular delegates are unable to attend.

In prescribing the methods of electing delegates, the Democratic Party differs fundamentally from the Republican Party. The Democratic Party regards the state as a unit of representation and leaves it entirely free to decide how the delegates shall be chosen; while, on the other hand, the Republican Party definitely stipulates that the delegates at large shall be chosen at the state convention, and the other delegates at congressional district conventions. Special provisions are made for the states that prescribe nomination of delegates by direct primaries.

The purposes of the national conventions are threefold: They formulate the principles of the party into a platform upon which the nominee bases his campaign. They nominate candidates for the Presidency, and Vice-Presidency, and appoint committees to notify both nominees. They elect a new national committee which carries on the respective campaign and acts in the interest of their respective party for the ensuing four years.

The convention is called to order by the chairman of the national committee, and before any business is trans-

acted, prayer is offered. The first business the convention takes up is the reading of the call for the national convention by the secretary of the national committee, and the chairman of the national committee puts in nomination the temporary officers who have been selected by the committee before the meeting. The temporary chairman delivers the "keynote address." He is not called upon to make any important decisions from the chair. After the installation of the temporary officers and the "keynote address", the rules of the previous convention are adopted until the permanent organization is formed. After this, the roll of the states and territories is called, each one of which appoints one member for each of the four great committees of the convention. The Committee on Credentials, the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and the Committee on Resolutions, or Platform.

The Committee on Credentials has the power of deciding questions of contested seats. The Committee on Permanent Organization names the permanent chairman, the secretary, and other officers of the convention.

The rules under which the permanent chairman controls the assembly are reported by the Committee on Rules.

The Committee on Resolutions drafts the platform on which the party will stand. After the adoption of the platform, the new national committee is chosen. The delegates from each state and territory hold a meeting, and choose one person from their respective state and territory to serve as a member of the national committee.

Following the election of the national committee, the next order of business is the calling of the roll of the states in alphabetical order, beginning with Alabama. The purpose of this roll call is the presentation of names of the candidates for the nomination. If a state has no candidate to present, it may defer to another state. When

the nominations are all made, the vote is taken for the candidates. This vote is taken by calling the roll of the states in alphabetical order. The chairman of each delegation announces the vote of his group. When the roll of the states and territories has been called, and the vote of each has been recorded, the total result is announced. If any nominee in the republican convention receives a majority of all votes cast, he is declared the candidate of the party for the Presidency of the United States. On the other hand, in the Democratic convention, a nominee must receive a two-thirds majority of all votes cast. If no nominee receives the required majority of votes on the first ballot, the process is repeated until some one secures the proper number of votes. Immediately after the nomination of a Presidential candidate, the candidate for Vice-President is nominated in the same manner.

When the convention has chosen its candidates, a separate committee is appointed to convey to each of them a formal notification of his nomination.

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the newly elected national committee meets and makes preparations for the campaign. The national committee conducts the campaign of its respective candidates, and carries on the work of the party for the ensuing four years. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, following the nominations, the voters of each state go to the polls and vote. They do not vote directly for the President, but for Presidential electors. Each state is entitled to as many electors as it has Senators and Representatives. Each state appoints its electors in such manner as the legislature may direct, but the popular method is by direct vote of the people. The party which secures a majority of all votes cast in any state is entitled to all the electoral votes of that state. On the second Monday in January following the election, the electors assemble

at the Capitol of the respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President. These ballots are entrusted to the Secretary of State of the respective states, who immediately forwards them to Washington. The counting of the total electoral votes polled throughout the United States takes place in the Hall of the House of Representatives in Washington on the second Wednesday in February following the meeting of the electors. This counting is conducted in the presence of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The President of the Senate presides over the meeting. Four tellers are appointed, two by the Senate and two by the House of Representatives. The tellers list the votes of each state in alphabetical order. The candidates receiving the majority of all electoral votes cast are declared to be elected President and Vice-President. In case no candidate receives a majority of all the electoral votes cast, the House of Representatives chooses the President by voting for the three candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes. Each state represented in the House is entitled to one vote. A candidate to be elected must receive a majority of the votes of all the states. In case of the failure of the House to choose a President, (whenever the election devolves upon that body) before the 4th of March following, it becomes the duty of the Vice-President to act as President until the President is elected.

If no candidate for Vice-President receives a majority of all the electoral votes, the election is thrown into the Senate; the Senators voting as individuals must choose the Vice-President from the two candidates having the highest number of electoral votes. A candidate to be elected must receive a majority of the votes of all the Senators.

Each state of the American Union has separate and distinct governments. As in the Federal Government, each

state has three departments of government corresponding to the three departments of the Federal Government, namely, the Legislative, the Judicial, and the Executive.

The laws of the state are enacted by the State Legislative body composed of two houses, corresponding to the Congress of the United States; the Judicial Department is represented by a State Supreme Court, corresponding to the United States Supreme Court in its powers and duties. The Executive Department is controlled by the Governor of each state.

The powers of the Federal Government are few in comparison with those enjoyed by the separate states. The state government has its limitations the same as the Federal Government, but the individual is brought in closer contact with the workings of the state government than he is with the Federal Government. In fact, the state has a right to legislate in all matters where control is not granted to the United States or prohibited by the Federal Constitution. We cannot enumerate and explain the different powers and privileges enjoyed by each state of our Federal Union. The most we can do is to name without comment a few of the common powers of government that are exercised by the state. All questions that concern the relations of private citizens, laws that regulate marriage, commercial contracts, principle and agent, belong to the state. The work of passing criminal statutes for the detection and punishment of crime, as well as all matters that relate to the control and support of the Militia, the building and maintenance of roads, the right of suffrage, and the regulation of state elections are questions that fall under state jurisdiction. The state has powers in making laws, regulating railroads, banks, insurance companies and other corporations. A strong system of local government has been created and established under the authority of the state.

In order that we may have a wise and workable government, it is imperative that the individual study the conditions existing in his state and nation, and vote intelligently upon all questions pertaining to law and the enforcement thereof.

In the establishing of this democratic-republic among the most sacred rights reserved by our forefathers are: "The right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience," the protection of life and property, and the right of suffrage. The authority of the United States government rests with the voters. On the individual depends the policy and security of this government. The right of suffrage is the most neglected of all the individual rights, while on the other hand it is to the advantage of each and every one to vote intelligently for the man and measures that protects himself and his fellow countrymen.

A knowledge of American Civil Government is useless unless it becomes the basis of a life of service to one's country. Whatever thoughts may have been evoked by the study of American Civil Government, will be inconsequential unless the knowledge gained inspires and makes the life count for the betterment of one's own state and nation. The man or woman who masters national problems and uses his knowledge of civil government as a basis for intelligent public service will become a benefactor to his country.

At this time the field for constructive service for the common good, offers greater opportunities for men and women of courageous initiative than at any time in the history of the nation. Since this Government was established *Taxation, Immigration, Capital* and *Labor, Education,* and *Tariff* have been questions of national import. The country's rapid advance in economic and industrial conditions, calls for revamping the laws that control national affairs.

In the past decades there has been greater financial and industrial strides in this country than in any fifty years prior to the World War. In an effort to handle the necessary increase in governmental regime brought about by the World War a large number of bureaus and commissions were formed by the Federal Government. As a result there has been a tendency to violate the original constitution and usurp the powers of individual states. There is a growing tendency toward a bureaucratic form of government. In the past ten years the number of employees of the Federal Government have increased from Seventy-Three Thousand Six Hundred, in 1914 to Eight Hundred and Seventy-Three Thousand in 1924. Taxes have increased in the same period from $14.34 per capita to $68.10. This should be reduced by readjusted tax legislation to relieve present oppressive taxation.

This country today is not only the world's banker but the nations of the world are looking to the United States to take the initiative in solving international and world problems. The countries of Continental Europe are looking to the United States to take the lead in establishing some form of a world court or league of nations that will eliminate and settle all international disputes through arbitration.

Through the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution women have been granted equal rights with men. This epichol event doubled the voting power of the people of the United States. The field of woman's work in the world has also been broadened and demands that she should be equally informed with men upon national and international questions. Intelligent citizenship and ideal patriotism should characterize women as well as men.

The World War has left a lowering of the morale of the nation but there has followed in the wake of the war intellectual awakenings that portend the coming of an era

of better things. A change is being gradually but surely brought about in the class of reading material the public demands. There is today an increased seriousness of tone, conspicuous in journalism and in literature. Thought-provoking magazines and books of biography and novels that are conspicuous for historic settings with heroes of real men and women who have lived, loved and achieved, are today being read by many. The newspapers and magazines of large circulation give the important news of the globe—brilliantly edited and widely informing. One of the good omens of America's future advance is the hunger for mental pabulum, this significant sign of the time betokens a better day for America and for the World. A day when Patriotism and Citizenship will be emphasized.

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF PATRIOTISM

Rabbi Eichler gives the following "Ten Commandments of Patriotism":

1. Love thy country, which has redeemed thee from tyranny and bondage.

2. Thou shalt not worship any political idols, nor bow down to them, nor serve them; for their iniquity will be visited on thee and thy children until the third and fourth generation.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of patriotism in vain, nor use it to hide thy selfish motive.

4. Remember the day of election, to keep it holy.

5. Honor the sanctity of the ballot that the days of the Republic may be prolonged.

6. Thou shalt not kill the spirit of freedom by neglecting to exercise the prerogatives of a freeman.

7. Thou shalt not adulterate the purity of civic life by entering politics for gain.

8. Thou shalt not encourage public servants to steal by thy indifference.

9. Thou shalt not let greed for political reward bear false witness against the spirit of patriotism.

10. Thou shalt not covet a public office which thou art not fit to fill.

The original Decalogue speaks of "the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." It thus sanctifies patriotism. Teachers and students of patriotism and good citizenship need not hesitate to relate their lesson to the deepest and most reverent faiths of the human heart. Under such a conception, duties performed conscientiously toward the nation are a part of service to God.

"That man may last but never lives,
Who much receives and nothing gives.
Whom none can love, whom none can thank,
Creations blot, creations blank.

But he who marks from day to day,
In generous acts his pathway,
Treads the same path his Savior trod;
The path to glory and to God."

OKLAHOMA*

1492-1907.

LOFTY patriotism and intelligent citizenship find expression in devotion and service to one's own state as well as nation. The loyal citizen of the United States respects and honors the office and officials of his government. He takes pride in the President of his country regardless of the party that may have elected him. The appointees of the Chief Executive, his cabinet, ambassadors, consuls, and judges are given proper respect by patriotic Americans.

The good citizen of this republic respects the Constitution of the United States. He loves his country's flag and welcomes the opportunity of saluting and honoring this emblem of America's liberty. He also takes a hearty interest in the Capitol City of his country—the seat of the Federal Government.

The patriotic American enjoys studying the splendid structure known as the Capitol Building, also its many statues and paintings of America's patriots. He loves to visit the City of Washington and looks with eager interest upon the White House, Washington's Monument, Lincoln Memorial, and the Congressional Library. Sentiments of loftiest patriotism are evoked when the American citizen beholds the Congressional Library building which is the acme of architectural genius. This building is the most beautiful structure ever erected by man. It contains three million volumes; the largest library in the world.

The more knowledge one has of his nation's birth, growth, and achievement, the more intelligent and fervent

*Oklahoma Edition.

will be his patriotism. A study of the character of the men and women who established our nation will inspire patriotism. The examples handed down to us by our pioneer fathers have left us a rich inheritance; the precepts and principles that guided their lives and made them great are the same constructive forces that make men and women great to-day.

Every citizen should know something of the patriots of the other sixty-six nations of the world, and should know intimately the seven men who laid the foundation of our republic. These men were the principal leaders in the establishment of the most liberty-loving and enduring democracy this earth has ever known. The lives of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Marshall, Hamilton, Morris and Franklin should saturate the mind and heart of every American.

The citizen who aspires to make the most of his life should also know his own state and respect her officials. The governor of each state and other state officials are chosen by a majority of the suffrage of the men and women of the commonwealth. These officials are entitled to the same kind, if not the same degree of respect and honor, as our nation's officials. This chapter on Oklahoma, with a characterization of some of her distinguished state builders, is given to inspire the young men and women of this great state to become truer patriots and better citizens. Information about one's own state and a pride in his home state, as well as the knowledge of the struggles and sacrifices of the men and women who have honorably and unselfishly served their state, is essential to good citizenship.

Native Indians who occupied the territory now known as Oklahoma, an Indian name meaning "the land of the red man", claim that they and their ancestors had been making this country their home thousands of years before the first white man set his foot on its soil.

Spain, France and England, all by right of discovery, claimed the ownership of Oklahoma's 44,424,960 acres.

Spain based her claim on the fact that she, through Christopher Columbus, had discovered America, that in 1541 her explorer, Coronado, had traveled east, west and south of this territory and had actually passed through that part of it now known as the Panhandle. France claimed this vast Oklahoma region because a Frenchman, La Salle, in 1682 succeeded in reaching the mouth of the "Father of Waters" and formally took possession of the entire Mississippi basin and its tributaries in the name of his King, Louis XIV of France. Therefore, France's title hung on the slender thread that Oklahoma was drained by the Mississippi River, the mouth of which they had discovered. England claimed this territory by right of discovery. John Cabot landed on the Atlantic coast in the year 1497, and gathering his ship's company about him he raised the English flag and took formal possession of all lands lying west of the Atlantic in the name of his King, Henry VII. Consequently, these English voyagers took possession of Oklahoma's 70,057 square miles in the name of the "Crown".

The red men, who occupied this land, have left many traces of their ancient ownership. In Ottawa, Delaware, Cherokee and many other counties, fragments of pottery are being found, giving evidence that there once lived here a tribe of people who made their homes in caves, thousands of years ago. In the counties of Sequoyah, Haskell and LeFlore, in the eastern part of Oklahoma, in the valley of the Red and Arkansas Rivers, great mounds of earth, some of them built in cones and pyramids, indicate that these mound builders may have lived in this state when the pyramids of Egypt were being built. Scattered over the ranches and farms of Pontotoc, Pushmataha, Choctaw and other counties in the southeastern portion of

the state, are thousands of small circular mounds of earth, that recent research has proved to have been built by the Indians and used by them for some unknown purpose, perhaps for worship and the burying of their dead. In these mounds are found bones of mastodons, urns, flint knives, arrows and bowls of earthenware similar to those used in Egypt in the days of King Tut. In Kay and Cimarron counties—in fact in almost every one of the seventy-seven counties of this commonwealth—may be found prehistoric evidence, such as arrow points, spears, beads, weapons of war and ancient implements, tracing prehistoric unwritten records.

When the first white man entered Oklahoma, he found separate and distinct tribes of Indians, speaking different languages. These tribes were more jealous and bitter toward their neighbor tribes than are the inhabitants of the Balkan States or the various nations of continental Europe to-day.

Every Indian male was taught and trained from early childhood for war. Fighting and hunting were his only vocations. The bow and arrow, spear and tomahawk were used in the chase and in warfare, and were symbols of courage and victory. Some of these tribes lived in permanent settlements, while others were nomadic, roving from place to place seeking regions where game was most plentiful, as their existence depended upon the chase.

The Wichitas and Caddos were the most ancient inhabitants, and lived in villages of log cabins thatched with grass. Their squaws raised corn, beans, pumpkins and little watermelons about the size of cocoanuts, while the men hunted bear, buffalo, deer, wild turkey and other game, and fought neighboring tribes. The Osage, Quapaw, Utes, Kickapoos, Comanches and other tribes lived near the hills and mountains in lodges or tents made of buffalo skins. These buffalo villages were similar to the black

goat tent villages of the Bedouins of Syria. The roving tribes easily moved to new and fresh hunting grounds, and lived on game, knowing little of vegetables and fruits.

The state of Oklahoma, according to the United States census of 1920, has 2,028,283 citizens. The state is prolific in mountains, rivers and creeks, having forty-three mountains, thirty-seven rivers and hundreds of creeks.

Frenchmen were the first of the white race to make settlements in this state. They entered the territory in canoes made of trunks of trees hollowed out by fire, and paddled these crude little boats up the rivers and creeks, bartering axes, hatchets, and beads for bear, buffalo, and deer hides and the skins of beaver, mink and other fur-bearing animals. These French explorers were brave men who came into this unknown wilderness seeking adventure and fortune. When they treated the Indians fairly and kindly, the red men responded with the "pipe of peace" and friendliness. Later the Indians felt that these "pale-faced people" were gradually taking away their happy hunting ground, hence the Franko-Indian War. This war ended in 1763, when the French sold their possessions west of the Mississippi River to Spain. This country was then known as the Province of Louisiana.

Spain retained Oklahoma for forty years. Napoleon Bonaparte then forced her to return the Province of Louisiana to France. On November 30, 1803, twenty days after Napoleon purchased this territory from Spain, he sold it to the United States. New Orleans was at once turned over to the United States, Thomas Jefferson, then President, consummating the deal. However, the distant Spanish post of Saint Louis was not transferred to the United States until March 14, 1804. This entire province of 560 million acres was purchased by President Jefferson for approximately two and a half cents an acres; the best land deal recorded in history. The states to-day comprising this territory are: Louisiana, Missouri, Alabama, Florida, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska and

all of Oklahoma except the three counties lying west of the 100th meridian.

In 1904, in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of this epochal event, a world exposition was held in Saint Louis, in honor of Thomas Jefferson, whose acumen and diplomacy consummated this purchase. This transaction was the beginning of a precedent of expansion, which has been followed by every administration from Jefferson to Wilson, and has resulted in the thirteen colonies being expanded to forty-eight states and two territories lying in one solid body, besides Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, the Philippine Islands and a protectorate over the Republic of Cuba.

The Louisiana Purchase was the beginning of an era of business and diplomatic relations with France, which worked tremendously toward the establishing of an international fellowship between these two great republics. This friendship had already been happily started when Rochambeau equipped a fleet of ships and sent the gallant young LaFayette to aid George Washington in winning our independence. The bond between these sister republics has endured for one hundred forty-eight years. Rufus Cheauteau, a boy of fourteen, at the head of a French colony, had settled in Missouri and located a village February 14, 1767, which he named Saint Louis after King Louis IX. In 1802 this brave Frenchman sent from Saint Louis a few of his picked, daring associates to establish a settlement still farther west. These Frenchmen reached Oklahoma in 1802 and were the first white settlers in this country. They located their camp among the Osage Indians on the east bank of Grand River.

Although the United States took formal possession of the province of Louisiana in May 1804, but few Americans had ever seen its soil or known anything of its vast resources. The first investigators sent forth to explore this

new territory constituted what was known as the "Lewis and Clark Expedition". They started from Saint Louis in the fall of 1804, traveling up the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. The story of their tour, with its thrilling adventures, is more fascinating than Fenimore Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans".

In 1807, another expedition, commanded by Zebulon Pike, explored other portions of the Louisiana country. Pike went almost straight west through Kansas, Colorado and the Panhandle of Oklahoma, to the Rocky Mountains where he discovered Pike's Peak.

In 1810, James Wilkinson, with a few soldiers, was sent by President Polk to explore Arkansas and Oklahoma. Wilkinson's notes on his experiences with Indians, buffalos and rattlesnakes are of absorbing interest.

In 1812, Captain Richard Sparks, of the United States army, was sent to explore the Red River to its source, but while passing through Oklahoma was driven back by Spanish troops and never completed his task.

The first English-speaking people to enter Oklahoma came in 1813. The war of 1812 had been fought and won under the masterful leadership of the daring southerner, Andrew Jackson, before any English-speaking settlement had made Oklahoma its home.

The United States established a military post at the mouth of the River Poteau in Oklahoma in 1817. They named it Fort Smith after Captain Smith who served under General Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. Captain Smith met Captain William Johnston, who had raised a thousand brave Virginians and marched to New Orleans. At this time a few white English-speaking people settled near this post on the eastern border of Oklahoma, but a number were killed by the Indians and many of these early adventurers returned to their old homes in Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri.

The first unmolested American settlers in Oklahoma were led by Robert French and Samuel Rutherford, who in 1818 pitched their tents on the Verdigris River, seven miles from the city of Muskogee. They did but little farming, their principal occupations being hunting and trading with the Indians.

In 1820, various religious bodies began sending their evangelists to enlighten and Christianize the "red men" in this region. These Indians had never heard of Jesus, the World's Saviour. The missionaries were brave men. Their work began with the Five Civilized Tribes,—Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles. As Americans began to enter this territory in considerable numbers, some of them, daring adventurers who sought refuge in this "wild wilderness", did not properly consider the Indians' rights. At times these new-comers exercised undue shrewdness in trading with the Indians, and the situation between the whites and Indians became critical. A few white people and many Indians were killed.

To adjust these differences, the United States in 1817 established a military post in Oklahoma at the mouth of the Poteau on the eastern border of Oklahoma. This military post was called Fort Smith. In 1824, two other military posts were established, Fort Gibson, on the east bank of the Grand River near Muskogee, and Fort Towson, located on the Kiamichi River in southeastern Oklahoma.

During the two centuries which had passed since the settlement of the first English colonies on the Atlantic Coast, the Indians had been gradually forced back into the interior of the country. As the colonies grew and the country became more thickly populated, the Indians had been driven from their homes along the eastern coast and had taken up lands farther west. The Indians were not citizens of the states in which they lived, and were not subject to state laws. They did not pay taxes. Shortly

after the War of 1812, a feeling arose between the whites and the Indians, which finally forced the Indians to take up new lands west of the Mississippi. The lawless element among the white men lurked about the Indian Reservations, selling them whisky, gambling, and stealing from them. It was only natural that the Indian should become suspicious of the white man, and as they were being tricked out of their land, the feeling of suspicion grew to hatred. There were two classes of white men, those who wanted to get possession of the Indian lands and would use any means to accomplish their ends; the other, a class of white people who were friends to the Indians who wanted to see these tribes move to new reservations to get them away from their unpleasant surroundings.

During the struggle between the Indians and the early settlers, the United States acquired extensive lands west of the Mississippi through the Louisiana Purchase. This land had been purchased for such a small sum that government officials were at a loss to know how to dispose of it to best advantage. They finally decided that if they could purchase the Indian lands east of the Mississippi, they would make money on the transaction, and be able to remove the Indians from the coveted land in the eastern states.

At this time Oklahoma was not the home of any large or important Indian tribes. A few Wichitas lived in the southwestern part near the Wichita Mountains. This tribe was not numerous enough to be of any great importance. Curiously enough Oklahoma was to become a real Indian country furnishing homes for the largest tribes in the United States as well as some of the smaller ones, until nearly one hundred and twenty thousand Indians, representatives of between sixty and seventy different tribes, were to be found in Oklahoma.

The first Indian tribes to be removed to Oklahoma were known as the Five Civilized Tribes. Due to their advance

in civilization they were called "The Five Civilized Tribes". They lived in log cabins, cultivated the soil and were far in advance of their neighboring tribes in these respects.

They came to this country during the period between 1820 and 1840. This land they had purchased was known as the Indian Territory. It comprised a large part of the present states of Nebraska, Kansas and all of Oklahoma exclusive of the northwest portion now known as the Panhandle.

In 1802 the United States government made an agreement with Georgia known as the "Georgia Compact". This agreement was that if Georgia would turn over her western lands to the national government, the latter would at its own expense relinquish Indian title to lands in Georgia. For a number of years the government sought to carry out its part of the agreement, but were unable to accomplish anything until 1817 when the first treaty was made for the removal of the Cherokee Tribe from Georgia to the Indian Territory. Subsequent treaties were made in 1819, 1828 and in 1835. By these treaties the entire tribe was removed to Oklahoma, and given a large tract of land in the northeast part of the state. The treaty of 1835 was made with a part of the main body of the Cherokee tribe which was still living in Georgia. This treaty provided that the whole tribe should move to the new reservation in the northeastern part of what is now known as Oklahoma. Because this treaty was made by a few members of the tribe who were acting without authority, the main body of the tribe refused to be bound by it; but the United States insisted upon enforcing its terms, and the Cherokee people were compelled to leave their homes and move to the west.

Treaties were also made with other tribes living east of the Mississippi as follows; the Creeks, 1832, 1835 and 1836; Seminoles, 1832, 1833, 1856; Choctaw, 1820, 1825

and 1830; Chickasaws, 1832, 1837 and 1855. By these treaties, all of the Five Civilized Tribes were removed to the Indian Territory and each tribe given its own lands.

The removals were fraught with much suffering on the part of the Indians. During the course of their westward journey there was much sickness among the members of the tribes. Hundreds died along the road, and because of this the people of these tribes spoke of the road over which they came into the Indian Territory as "The Trail of Tears".

Among the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles were two factions, one faction favored the treaties with the United States and the removal to the west, the other faction bitterly opposed it. These two factions brought on feuds resulting in much disorder and bloodshed. All of the Five Civilized Tribes except the Seminoles had a written Constitution and written laws. Each was an independent republic with its own political institutions and officials who had power of life and death over their citizens. Such was the honor and veracity of the tribe that they built no jails, but when a death sentence was pronounced upon a Cherokee Indian, he was given sixty days to be with his family. Such was their code of honor and the two high graces of courage and honor are dominant among them in Oklahoma today.

Upon the arrival of the tribes in this new territory, they built new homes and cleared land for cultivation. These tribes were accompanied by the missionaries who had been laboring among them as teachers in their old reservations east of the Mississippi. Through missionaries, schools and trading posts were established who also assisted the Indians in perfecting their methods of farming.

Much credit is due Sequoyah for the advancement and education of the Cherokee tribe. It was through his ef-

forts that the first Indian alphabet was originated. This alphabet consisted of eighty-six characters and represented every possible syllable in the Cherokee language. Any one who learned this alphabet was able to read in Cherokee without further instruction. Sequoyah was a half-breed. He was born in the Cherokee Nation about the year 1760. His early life was typical of the average Indian boy of his time. He learned no language but that of his mother's people and could neither read nor write. He was a man of mature years before he ever saw a book of any kind. When he learned through the missionaries that the printed characters represented sounds and words, and that ideas could be conveyed by such means, he was greatly amazed. It was then he conceived the idea of inventing an alphabet for the use of his own people. It was through the use of this alphabet that his people learned to read and write. At first he tried to make a separate character or letter for each word in the Cherokee language, but he finally succeeded in devising an alphabet in which there was a separate letter for each possible syllable in the language, and one for the letter "s". Type was cast for the new alphabet, books were printed and within a few years, nearly all of the Cherokee people had learned to read. Sequoyah moved to the country of the western Cherokees in Arkansas in 1823, and in 1829 he moved to the new Indian reservation in Oklahoma. He died in 1844 while on a hunting and exploring expedition in Mexico. Sequoyah was universally loved by his people who still cherish and honor his memory.

At the time the Indians settled in Oklahoma, the methods of travel between the Indian Territory and the states to the eastward were slow and difficult. As the country became settled more white people visited this country, and the necessity for trails became apparent. In 1825-26, the Sante Fe Trail was laid out by a commission representing

the government of the United States. This wagon road extended from the Missouri River at Kansas City to Sante Fe, New Mexico, and crossed Cimarron County in the extreme northwest part of Oklahoma. In 1828, the first steam boat ascended the river to that post each year, carrying supplies and merchandise.

Due to the association of the Five Civilized Tribes with the white people of the southern states, these tribes had acquired a number of the customs of the southern people. Many of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes owned slaves which they brought with them to this new country. At the time of their removal, slavery was becoming a paramount question in American politics. The Indians had been compelled to remove from their old home, and just as they were reaching an advanced stage of civilization and had begun to follow the ideas of the white man, the Civil War began. After enduring the hardships of pioneering in a strange land, and at the time when they were beginning to prosper, they became involved in the white man's war. Although they were not vitally concerned, the result of the war was disastrous to them, and left their country in a state of utter ruin and desolation. When the Civil War broke out the north withdrew its troops from the vicinity of the Indian Territory. The government refused to forward money due the Indians on the plea that the money might fall into the hands of the Confederates. Due to these facts, a number of the Indians felt that the Federal Government had deserted them, and when the Confederacy sent General Albert Pike to make treaties of alliance with the Five Civilized Tribes, four of them: the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole promptly signed this treaty. The Cherokees at first refused, but in October, 1861, they also made an alliance with the Confederacy. Although this treaty with the Confederacy was signed by the Five Civilized Tribes, a num-

ber of Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees remained loyal to the Federal Government.

The two factions soon were involved in fighting among themselves, and after two or three bloody battles the Indians who were in sympathy with the north were driven out of their country into Kansas where they spent two years in refuge camps enduring untold hardships as the result of cold, hunger and disease. The north finally sent expeditions into the Indian country, and drove the sympathizers of the Confederacy from their homes into Texas. During the last years of the Civil War, they met with all the hardships their northern brothers had endured the two preceding winters. At the close of the war, the Indian Territory presented a pitiable aspect. The tribes were hopelessly divided, and numerous bands of outlaws had drifted into their territory from the states. Houses were burned, herds of cattle slaughtered, fields had grown up in weeds. The out-look for the future was discouraging. The Indians were eager to know where they stood with the victorious government of the north. The first peace council after the war was held at Ft. Smith, Arkansas, in 1865. At this council the Indians were told that they had forfeited all treaty rights by virtue of their participation in the Southern Confederacy and that new treaties must be made. This treaty included the following terms: First, they must make peace with the United States, and with one another; second, they must free their slaves, and grant them tribal rights, and lands or otherwise provide for their welfare; third; that rights-of-way for the construction of two rail roads across the Territory, one from north to south, and the other from east to west should be granted; fourth, they must give up a portion of their lands to furnish homes for other tribes of friendly Indians; and fifth, that Congress should have power to establish a territorial government with an inter-tribal legislative council.

The apparent harshness of these terms and the controversies between the two factions in some of the tribes prevented definite action at this time. The tribes merely made peace with the United States and the following summer sent commissioners to Washington to sign complete treaties. During one of the discussions between the delegates from the Indian tribes and the government commissioners, the name of "Oklahoma" was first suggested for the name of the state which now bears it. While the proposed territorial form of government for the new Indian Territory was being discussed, one of the government commissioners asked, "What would you call your territory?" Reverend Allen White, a full blood Choctaw Indian instantly responded, "Oklahoma". In the Choctaw language, "Okla" means people and "Humma" or "Homa" means red; hence the signification of the word thus compounded is "Red People". It was in accordance with this suggestion that the treaty which the delegates from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations signed with the government commissioners referred to the proposed territorial organization as "The Territory of Oklahoma". By these treaties the Creeks gave up the western half of their land, receiving the sum of thirty cents an acre in payment. The Seminoles agreed to give up all their country for the consideration of fifteen cents an acre, and to purchase new land from the United States for which they paid fifty cents an acre. The territory purchased by the Seminoles was the land the government had purchased from the Creeks for thirty cents an acre. The Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes made a joint treaty with the United States by which they agreed to give up the leased district of their territory upon payment of the sum of $360,000. The Cherokee did not give up any land, but agreed to allow the United States to locate tribes in certain sections of their territory. The price for the land was to be agreed upon by them-

selves and the tribes so located or in case they could not agree, the price should then be fixed by the government.

During the next twenty years approximately twenty different tribes were brought into Oklahoma and located upon these lands. In the territory received from the Cherokee tribe were placed the Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Otoe and Missouri, Pawnee and Tonkawa, leaving about six million acres still unoccupied, which belonged to the Cherokee tribe. On the lands ceded by the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles were placed such tribes as the Shawnee and Potowatomi, Sac and Fox, Iowa, Kickapoo, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Kiowa and Comanche, leaving a tract of land approximately two and a half million acres in the very center of the Indian country. This tract was called the "Unassigned land" or Oklahoma.

With the coming to Oklahoma of the last tribes of plains Indians about 1880, the first period in the peopling of Oklahoma—that of the settlement of Oklahoma by the Red Man—came to an end. The settlement of Oklahoma by the white man began in 1889. Between the two periods and well over-lapping both, lies a curious transitional period in the history of western Oklahoma—that of the ranchman.

From early colonial times the cattle industry in the United States had been gradually increasing. Not until after the Civil War did this industry develop to any great degree. Texas had not been touched by the Civil War and as a result that state had an abundant supply of cattle for which there was no market. On the other hand, in the north fat cattle and beef were selling at exorbitant prices. This was the beginning of the cattle industry throughout Oklahoma which later played such an important part in her romantic history.

Joseph G. McCoy was one of the first men to transport cattle from Texas to the markets at Chicago and other

markets. He dreamed the dream of the cattle trail and made it come true. Each year great streams of Texas cattle poured northward to market or to new ranges. Between the plains of Texas and the market centers of the north, lay the great Indian Territory with its wide stretches of untouched but inviting pasture lands. The first cattle to enter western Oklahoma were the herds moving northward on the trails. Gradually as ranges elsewhere became scarce some ranchmen sought to occupy permanent ranges in the region of Oklahoma. The government of the United States at first refused the ranchmen permission to locate there permanently but in spite of such prohibition, large areas became occupied by the ranchmen. Between 1875 and 1880 practically all the vacant lands in the western half of the Territory were occupied by cattle ranges. These cattle ran at large and in order that every ranchman might be able to identify his own stock, each animal was branded with a red hot branding iron. Every ranch had its own brand or brands by means of which every animal might be readily recognized and identified. At that time cattle rustling was common. In 1881 the cattle ranchmen of the Cherokee outlet met at Caldwell, Kansas and organized the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. That organization became very popular and wielded great influence in the affairs of the Indian Territory as well as being beneficial to the cattle industry. The land occupied by this association consisted of over six million acres which was leased directly from the Cherokee tribe. This territory was subdivided into large pastures. In a very short time all the unoccupied Indian reservations in western Oklahoma were taken up by ranchmen. Although some of the men who came to this country were educated and were descendants of the best families of the eastern states, a number of outlaws drifted into this new territory. Trouble soon arose between the Indians and the ranchmen who occupied these reservations.

General Phil H. Sheridan was finally sent to the Cheyenne-Arapaho country to evict the ranchmen and their herds and restore order among the Indians. That was accomplished but it was not long until the cattlemen were back again. Thus for a number of years the ranchmen occupied these large ranges in Oklahoma.

On June 6, 1870, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the first railroad to enter the Indian Territory, began laying its tracks southward from the Kansas boundary. It was constructed southwestward across the Creek, Cherokee and Choctaw Nations and later across the Red River into Texas. Shortly after this road entered the Indian Territory from the north, the Atlantic and Pacific Railway entered from the east. Starting at the Missouri line, they built their road across the Shawnee and Wyandotte reservations, and joined the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road at Vinita.

The establishment of cattle ranches in this unassigned territory soon led to the demand that this Indian land should be opened for settlement. The government at first refused to listen to the demands made by many settlers, however, many people entered the territory and took up these lands, but were removed by detachments of the regular army. Great credit is due Captain David L. Payne for the settlement of Oklahoma. He was the leader of the movement to force the opening of Oklahoma country to settlement under the home-stead laws. For a number of years he organized colonies and led them into the forbidden country. He was arrested and expelled repeatedly, but every time he reorganized his followers, and invaded the Oklahoma country again. He started a movement which finally resulted in the opening of the land for settlement. Shortly after Payne's death in 1884, a bill was introduced into Congress for the purpose of authorizing the opening of the Oklahoma country to

settlement under the home-stead laws. The bill was opposed by two factions, the Indian Tribes did not want the white settlers to come into their country. They had not forgotten their being forced to abandon their lands east of the Mississippi and they feared this would be but a repetition of the hardships they had endured. Allied with the Indians in this opposition were the ranchmen. The ranchmen realized if this land should be open for home-steading, their ranches would be divided into farms. After a bitter fight in Congress the bill was finally forced through in spite of opposition. President Benjamin Harrison issued a proclamation setting the 22nd day of April, 1889 as the date for the opening of this new territory. Immediately after the proclamation was made, thousands of people began to gather along the border awaiting the hour when they should be permitted to enter and choose their home-stead claims. When the appointed hour arrived, thousands of people swept into this unsettled territory, and by nightfall of the first day, a score of cities and towns were marked by hundreds of tents. Gradually but surely this influx of white settlers spread over Oklahoma until to day the state has taken its place among the rank of the other states of the Union. For eighteen years Oklahoma remained a Territory of the United States when in 1907 it was admitted to the Union by the Federal Government as the forty-sixth state of the Union.

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